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ABSTRACT

This document consists of the first five issues (19 months) of a new journal providing an ongoing forum for the celebration of cultural diversity and an examination of the issues of concern to learners and teachers in multicultural schools and in classes for new migrants at the adult level. Objectives of the journal are: (1) to provide information and research relating to the teaching of English to speakers of other languages, to community language and bilingual teaching, and to first language maintenance; (2) to discuss cross-cultural issues in education; (3) to act as a forum for the exchange of practical ideas and experiences for teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) and community language teaching; and (4) to provide a change for minority ethnic community members to express their views on issues of education and schooling. Among the many topics discussed in Numbers 1-5 are: current issues in language learning and teaching, curriculum for ESL learners, peer tutoring bilingual children in a cooperative learning classroom, women's role in promoting bilingualism, and refugee students with no previous schooling. (JP)

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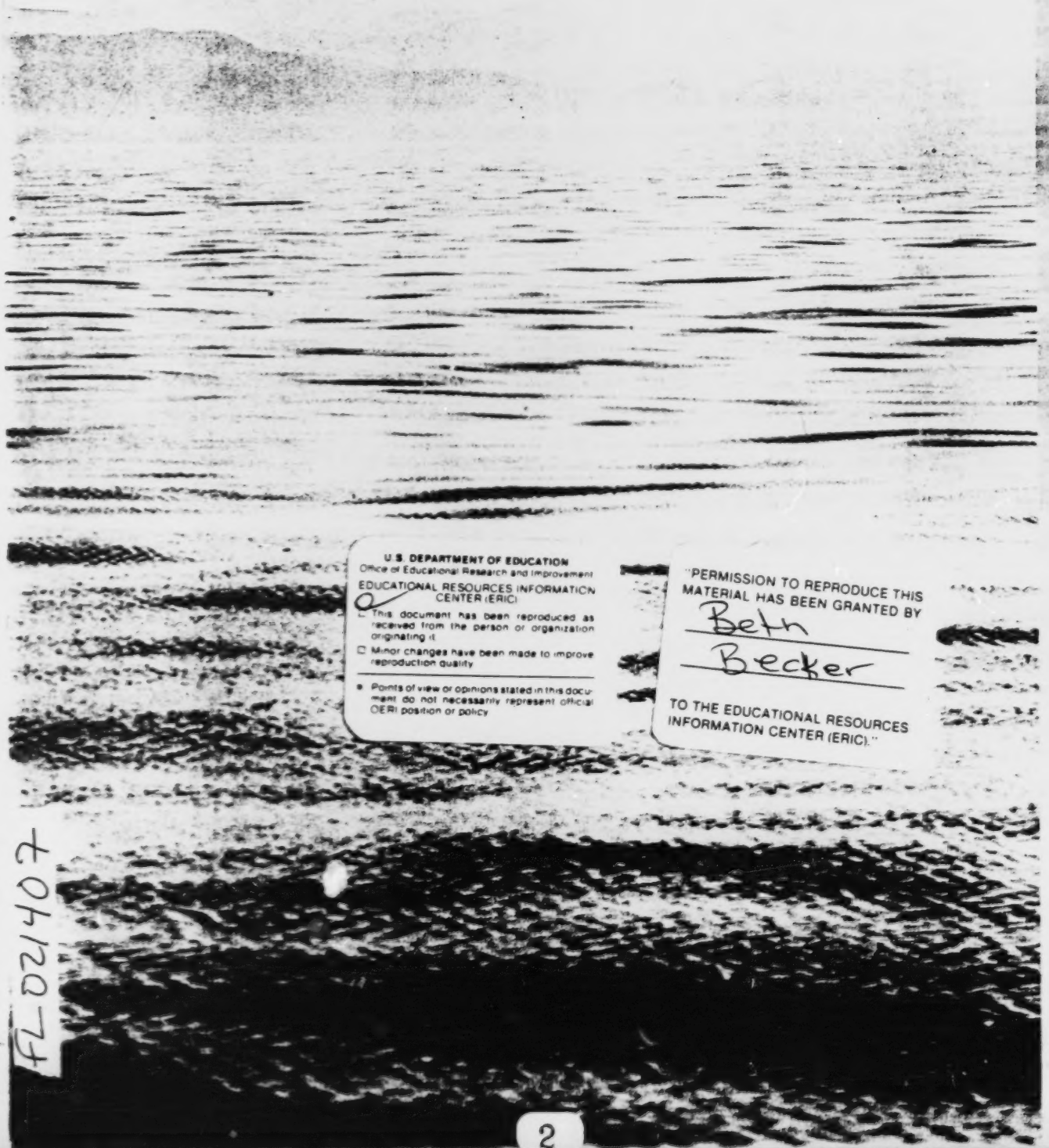
A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues

ED 362 008



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Ministry of Education

Many Voices 1

A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues

November 1991

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Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington

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A tribute to Pacific Island women, at the opening of Pacific Island Mats exhibition, National Museum, Wellington, 1988.

Spirit of my grandmother
Spirit of my people
Hear my cry
Listen to my plea
Let your past be mine
Let your traditions and customs
Surround me, and let me drown in them
Women, Pacific Island Women
If not for our Heritage
Who will ever know these customs?
Who will ever live as our grandparents did?
Who will ever love and treasure
What our grandparents did?
Your time, your patience, your sweat,
Painstakingly woven together into one
Malō! Malō! Malō lava.
My past, my present, my future
So much I have gained
So much more
I will never know

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Introduction

Tēnā koutou katoa.

This journal is the first of a series to be published by Learning Media. It complements the handbooks *Language for Learning*, *New Voices*, and *Te Kohao ō te Ngira*, providing an on-going forum for the celebration of cultural diversity and an examination of the issues which concern learners and teachers in multicultural schools and in classes for new migrants at the adult level. It continues the themes developed by its predecessor, the journal *New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues*, but with a more specifically education-oriented focus, and more clearly targeted to the full range of educational institutions.

The objectives of this journal are:

- to provide information and research relating to the teaching of English to speakers of other languages (ESOL), to community language and bilingual teaching, and to first language maintenance;
- to discuss cross-cultural issues in education;
- to act as a forum for the exchange of practical ideas and experiences for teachers involved in ESOL and community language teaching;
- to provide a chance for members of minority ethnic communities to express their views and concerns on issues of education and schooling.

Several themes link up through the articles in this issue. Two contributors, Trinh Thi Sao and Sabine Fenton, are language teachers working in the area of health education. Conversely, the article by Tua Su'a was part of research for the Advanced Diploma of Nursing. This demonstrates very clearly that language is not just a classroom exercise but an integral part of everyday life, and that language is also closely bound up with the expression of identity, with the whole person.

Other articles look at the relationship between teacher and learner, and between schools and parents; at the teaching of community languages within the school system; and at some of the critical factors which make for success or failure for students from minority ethnic groups.

Readers are invited to submit articles to be considered for publication, in line with the objectives listed above. The next issue will appear in the first term of 1992. Please send articles to Leith Wallace, Editor *Many Voices*, Learning Media, Box 3293, Wellington.

Leith Wallace

Different Cultures Different Values

by Trinh Thi Sao.

New Zealand society is not homogeneous, we all just need to look around us to see that it is made up of all sorts of different groups and cultures. And yet ... the one predominant culture is that of the majority, those who think of themselves as "New Zealanders", who base their lives on the Pakeha model. What is it like trying to succeed in that culture when your own background is quite different?

There's an advertisement on the television at the moment that features a rugged Australian from the outback who is desperate to convince us to buy his particular brand of utility vehicle. He entreats us to demonstrate that we're "the full quid" by loading a pack of "tinnies" into the back and then driving off "laughing like a kookaburra" ... or words to that effect.

The reason why such an advertisement is so successful for most New Zealanders is because a culture with which most of us are at least moderately familiar is presented as something wildly different — the script contains mock subtitles extolling the virtues of the vehicle. We are entertained because, although the advert might seem foreign, we all really know exactly what it's saying. That is, if you happen to be a New Zealander or someone who's lived in this country or across the Tasman for quite some time. Someone for whom the culture is not, in fact, wildly different at all. If you are a more recent arrival in the country, this particular advertisement may be no funnier nor any less comprehensible than much of what you struggle to make sense of every day.

When we talk of people from minority ethnic groups* we are referring to people from cultural backgrounds that are not the majority cultural backgrounds in New Zealand (Pakeha, Maori and Pacific Island). This term includes people from as different backgrounds as Greek and Vietnamese. The sorts of problems, difficulties and anxieties they face when they come to New Zealand are as diverse as the people themselves.

To understand the barriers and difficulties faced by many minority ethnic people in this country it is necessary to understand the background causes or psychological journey many of them have to go through.

* We use the term "minority ethnic groups" rather than the form "ethnic minority" in recognition of the fact that while each of us belongs to at least one ethnic group, some people belong to ethnic groups which are minority groups in this country.

In New Zealand there are two basic groups of minority ethnic people. The first group is made up of people who come to New Zealand as immigrants or refugees. The second group is the children and other relatives of these people who are born in New Zealand but are brought up in a different culture or with a dual identification with both the New Zealand culture and their own.

For both these groups there is a strong need to work out one's "ethnic identity" in order to operate successfully in New Zealand. There is constant pressure and necessity to compromise, to adapt and to change. Sometimes the values of the two cultures might be so contradictory that there may seem no way to reconcile the two.

People who come to New Zealand from other countries face many added difficulties. They might come here for a variety of different reasons and might range from political refugees, whose main motivation is to escape persecution, to European immigrants, who came to New Zealand after Chernobyl to enjoy a "greener" lifestyle.

The first major barrier for an immigrant is language. They might not have enough English to get a job on the same sort of level as the one they had before they left their own country. Speaking with an accent can be a major obstacle because people often refuse to make the effort to understand heavily accented English and make the assumption that the person must be lacking in intelligence even if they are fluent at speaking, reading and writing one or several other languages.

Even if their English is good, or they have been brought up in New Zealand, minority ethnic people face further problems of different values, culture, body language, hierarchies, dress styles and sense of humour. In New Zealand humour is often used as an "icebreaker" when people get to know each other. It can range from being teased by a friend or workmate to forms of public humiliation such as receiving a "singing telegram". For the person from a minority ethnic group such practices can not only be seriously embarrassing, but also bewildering and culturally insensitive.

A New Zealand remembers, "We had this new guy from overseas at work and I asked him if he wanted to go down to the cafeteria with us at morning teatime and he said to me 'Oh, pass me by at morning teatimes' and I thought that meant he didn't want to come, so we all went down without him for about a week, until someone else asked him again and it turned out he's been waiting for us to pass by his office and collect him." Misunderstandings like this are all too common when two cultures collide. It takes the newcomer a while to find out what subjects are

special, what is offensive, what is considered personal and what is considered funny to New Zealanders. Some people spend a lifetime learning. A minority ethnic person may refuse to ever point with their finger at anything because in their culture it might be considered rude, and yet this same person might have to get used to being pointed at or having things pointed to them by any numbers of other people during the day.

While trying desperately to come to terms with the way things are done in their new country, minority ethnic people also have to come to terms with the "loss experience". When they move to a different country, particularly in the case of refugees, there is loss of status, family relationships and community roles to cope with. They can suffer from a serious loss of self esteem and self confidence as they learn how to use the skills they have brought with them in an entirely new context. There is depression, homesickness and at times a sense of utter loss of one's own country. The refugees might never be able to return home again.

Many overseas qualifications are not recognised in New Zealand. This means that many years of valuable training are not used by this country, which ends up losing out because the person is placed in a job where their skills are under-utilised or unrecognised. Sometimes they are treated as though they were stupid. Things that the majority of us take for granted such as the way we go about our work, how to access information, how to make small talk and other social matters such as pub behaviour and so on all have to be learned again like a child.

You have to learn to eat different food because the food you are used to might not be available. Changes in diet and eating patterns can wreak havoc with the metabolism. Someone relates the story of an Asian woman who was a student in New Zealand: "She was just really beautiful and all the boys were crazy about her. She started to eat a lot of junk food, you know, like students do, but her body just wasn't used to all that sugar and dairy food and she got really fat. That was so damaging to her self esteem but she didn't have anyone here to talk these things through with. She ended up really miserable and decided to go back home."

Changes in the weather can not only affect your metabolism, but also your mood. In places such as New Zealand we sometimes have to cope with rapid changes in weather so that we might experience all four seasons in the space of one day. This can be very difficult for people who are used to a constant and predictable climate.

Different cultures have very different values and it can often be very difficult to try to reconcile the values of one's own culture with the values of the new adopted culture. People who are used to living and working in co-operation with others will find the individualistic and competitive New Zealand approach very hard to get used to and difficult to survive in. People used to living in extended families or much more communal and interactive living environments can find the New Zealand set up with an individual house on a privately owned section isolating and unfriendly, particularly since it can often take a long time for neighbours to get to know each other.

Once you do get to know each other, there are other social problems to overcome. Your neighbour smiles at you as you pass each other on the street. She says "How are you?" but she has gone before you have had a chance to reply. Is this rude? In New Zealand society it is quite normal, while in other cultures it is deeply insulting. The next day you take the initiative when you pass your neighbour in the street and ask her "Where are you going?" She gives you a funny look, mutters something quickly and hurries past. She thinks you're nosey and rude and you think she's rude. Your cultures have clashed. Will we ever understand each other?

The answer to that, of course, is yes, and we will be the richer for that understanding. Naturally, the task of adapting to the majority culture and adopting one's own ethnic identity can be greatly enhanced when the majority culture displays an understanding and sensitivity towards the problems that might be faced and any possible conflicts of culture or values. New Zealanders show great willingness and goodwill. Apparent rudeness and insensitivity generally stem from ignorance of the above, rather than any genuine hostility.

Indeed, both sides come out winners when there is a mutual understanding. Ignorance leads to under-utilised skills, wasted resources, unnecessary anguish on both sides, prolonging of the adaptation process, isolation and lowered self esteem of minority ethnic peoples, and their concentration in lower paid and lower skilled occupations.

Understanding and a good interactive working relationship will lead to success — not just of the individual, but of the organisation and society at large.

Trinh Thi Sao is an ESOL tutor at Wellington Polytechnic. This year she has been seconded to the Health Services EEO Development Unit, to develop a training package for people from minority ethnic groups in the workplace, and their managers. This article first appeared in HSEODU News June 1991.

Current Issues in Language Learning and Teaching

The Second National Conference on Community Languages and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages), held in August 1990, took as its theme "Toku Reo Toku Mana — My Language My Identity". Keynote papers reflected various aspects of this theme. Excerpts from three keynote speeches are printed below.

1. Professor Christopher Brumfit, University of Southhampton: ***English Language Learning and Teaching: Current Issues***

Professor Brumfit outlined some of the current discussion in British language teaching, relating it to general principles. Many of those issues are also being discussed here, for example:

Access to Standard English. Policy in this area is easier to define, for the guidelines on the National Curriculum are further advanced for English than for other languages. The Cox Report on the teaching of English is already in print (DES 1989). This report reflects the current liberal consensus on good classroom practice; there is much emphasis on process, and on the use of (English) language for a diversity of authentic purposes. Issues relating to the development of bilingual children's English competence are treated in a separate chapter, which advocates mainstreaming and the development of appropriate language awareness among all pupils. However the levels of attainment against which pupil progress is to be assessed are specified in terms which have evident potential for discrimination, against ESL users and indeed against all users of non-standard varieties of English itself.

This is most strikingly the case for the proposals for the assessment of "Speaking". Sociolinguistic research over the last 20 years or so has made it abundantly clear that a rich variety of styles and norms for speaking persists even within "monolingual" English-using society, and that they way we speak is a complex indicator of social identity and group membership. Competent adult speakers are highly diverse in what they try to do with spoken language, and how they accomplish it. Yet the Cox Report proposes one single strand of stylistic development (with the illustrated lecture as its pinnacle!) as the target for all. In addition, though the Report stops short of proposing that all children should become active users of spoken Standard English, it is hard to see how the highest "levels of attainment" in the Report can be reached if they do not, for at least some purposes. The Report also fails to recognise the technical problems of "objective" assessment of spoken language skills (again there is a substantial research literature documenting how teachers' and assessors' own linguistic stereotypes and prejudices can colour such judgements: see review by Edwards, 1982).

Professor Brumfit proposes a "Language Charter", an idea which could be of interest to those writing school policy documents.

A Language Charter. One procedure for clarifying the situation somewhat is to try to obtain widespread agreement for a language charter for all learners. The argument for a "charter" concept is that this enables us to define what is desirable, and to express a commitment to realising those goals, insofar as resources and circumstances permit. The charter would provide a frame of reference against which the commitment of each school or education authority could be measured.

An attempt to define such a charter was made in a lecture in 1986 (Brumfit 1986, published in Geach 1989). The intention in drafting was to produce a formulation for language development throughout the education system which would be:

- equally beneficial to each individual (and thus would not advantage English speakers at the expense of others);
- sensitive to the most authoritative research on language acquisition and education;
- realisable, at least to some degree, for every learner;
- responsive to the linguistic needs of British-educated learners for the foreseeable future.

The charter thus proposes the following:

It is the policy of (enter name of school, college or education authority) to attempt to the maximum extent possible within available resources to enable all learners:

- to develop their own mother tongue or dialect to maximum confident and effective use;
- to develop competence in a range of styles of English for educational, work-based, social and public-life purposes;
- to develop their knowledge of how language operates in a multilingual society, including basic experience of languages other than their own that are significant either in education or the local community;
- to develop as extensive as possible a practical competence in at least one language other than their own.

It is our belief that the development of these four strands in combination will contribute to a more effective language curriculum for Britain in the twenty-first century than emphasis on any of them separately at the expense of the others.

2. Professor Bernard Spolsky, Bar-Ilan University, Israel: *Language Rights*

Professor Spolsky was born and educated in New Zealand, and now lives in Israel. He started by referring to the incident at Kadimah College, placing it in a wider context.

Terror in the School Yard. The stabbing of the four children in the school yard of the Auckland Jewish community school, Kadimah College, last month gives a special urgency to our attempt to understand the educational rights of minorities. While there seems to have been a local desire to drain significance out of the incident by concentrating attention on the mental illness of the perpetrator and the lack of any organisation behind it, I believe that the affair must be recognised as a clear warning of the danger that arises in a situation of intolerance. To say that Hitler or Stalin was crazy benefits neither their victims nor those who wish to learn how their kind of craziness can be controlled.

The irrationality of the attack must not be allowed to divert attention from the significance of the choice of victims. To some New Zealanders, the attack might well seem an isolated incident, but the pattern it fits is common; Jewish schools and synagogues throughout the world are, and need to be, as carefully guarded against terrorist attacks as are beaches and playgrounds and kindergartens and supermarkets in Israel. Last April, when I was in Venezuela for a local TESOL conference, my planned visit to a Caracas Jewish school was delayed because the school building was being searched for a bomb. A synagogue service I attended in June in London was interrupted by an announcement from the congregant taking his turn on guard asking for someone to identify a suspicious object. In Stockholm, where I attended a conference in July, there are police outside the synagogue and the Jewish community centre day and night. This is not South America, or Europe, some of you might say; it can't happen here. But a country where the most established church wants to censor the Bible to remove references to Zion and Israel obviously provides fertile ground for anti-semitism.

Why do I raise this issue here and now? The relevance to this present conference, devoted to the language problems of minorities, is that anti-semitism is just one form of xenophobia, the hatred and fear of the alien and the different, that produces the mistrust and mistreatment of minorities. Those who assault "Dirty Jews" (even when ironically the children are not themselves Jewish) or who tell Jews to "Go back to where you come from" are equally likely to attack "Dirty Blacks" or "Dirty Chinese" or "Dirty Tongans" or "Dirty Maoris" or "Dirty Pommies", and to tell them to go back to where they come from. An atmosphere in which pluralism is condemned, where difference is feared and denounced, where the other is the enemy, is one where racism and violence breed freely.

Professor Spolsky then discussed a range of issues concerning language and language teaching, relating them to the situation in New Zealand.

Language Rights. Language rights are needed because without them power alone rules. The established majority language needs no defence, although normativists often spend so much time bewailing assaults on its purity. Get the English words out of language, the French purists shout. Make English official, the American xenophobes proclaim. In the modern world, major languages need no support; they have all the big guns on their side: institutional support, linguistic richness and flexibility, strong motivational arguments, overwhelming popularity.

There is, however, a major right concerned with the dominant language, namely the right of access to it by minorities. Equality of opportunity, controlled in large measure by equality of educational opportunity, involves the right of access to the language of education and the language of employment. A language programme for minorities that does not provide them with the best way of learning full control of the standard language is in direct contradiction of this first right.

It is thus completely appropriate that this conference concern itself with both community languages and English as a second language, for the effective learning of English is a first educational right for anyone living in New Zealand. The question that must then be asked is how this right is to be implemented. What is the best way of teaching a language? Surely in an English-speaking country everyone will learn it by being surrounded by it, by immersion as it were?

The answer to this is clear: You don't teach people to swim by throwing them into a pool, nor do you tell your swimming class that they will never again be allowed out onto dry land. Applied to second language learning, there are two fundamental principles that must be maintained: second language learning benefits from both informal exposure and formal learning; and second language learning should be additive and not replacive.

Thus, the right to learn the standard language, the language of the majority and of power, involves a way of learning it that does not require giving up use of, or respect for, the learner's home or first language. There are in fact programmes in many parts of the world that find the best way to

achieve these results is by carrying out initial instruction in the home language, and moving to teach what will be the main school language only when the home language is firmly established.

The first right I have discussed is the right of the individual to learn the language of power and so have access to equality of educational opportunity: the second is the right of the group to maintain the home or traditional language. First, there is good evidence that children do best when their parents speak to them in their own stronger language — I recall my surprise to find, when I started out teaching many years ago at Gisborne High School, to discover that those of my pupils who spoke Maori at home were better in English than many of the Maoris who said they spoke English at home. Clearly, the former had had a richer linguistic environment in which to grow up, and had also the cognitive advantages of bilingualism.

Second, the maintenance of a group's identity is much easier when it can maintain its own language, which provides a means of access to the group's history and traditions and a means of connection and self-identification. The evidence in support of this is overwhelming: unless they are clearly distinguished racially, groups find it hard to maintain identity once they have lost their language; movements for ethnic revival and national independence are almost always accompanied by movements for language revival or standardisation.

This second language right, then, is the right of a family to choose to continue to speak their own language at home. But to be meaningful, this right goes beyond the home, for language maintenance requires external social support. Thus, it extends to the right of minority groups, if they so wish, to join together to establish institutional support for their home language policy, institutions where the home language will be taught and used. Much of the effort to keep community languages alive in New Zealand — the Maori kohanga reo, the Samoan churches and Sunday schools, the Hebrew schools, the many language maintenance programs represented at this conference — started essentially in this way, as support provided by the ethnic community for the preservation of its own way of life and of its language.

It is a breach of this second right when well-meaning but uninformed school teachers tell immigrant parents that they must speak English with their children; it is a breach of this right when the school forbids or attacks the home language. It is a right that makes the minimal demand on the school and other public institutions of recognising and showing respect for community languages.

3. Rosamond Mitchell, Centre for Language in Education, University of Southampton: *Processes and Outcomes of Bilingual Schooling*

Rosamond Mitchell described research on a bilingual project which concentrated not so much on the outcomes as on what was actually happening in the classroom. The research was on the Bilingual Education Project (BEP) in the Western Isles of Scotland, where the Scottish Gaelic language is still widely used. Researchers evaluated the project and its goals, after it had been going for several years, observing classroom interactions, assessing children's proficiency and interviewing parents and teachers.

The research results covered many interesting aspects of the project. One of the most striking is described below. Tables of figures illustrating these results are printed with the full text of the paper.

NB: the term "high uptake" schools is used to refer to schools where the head teachers, in interviews, had earlier claimed to follow BEP principles closely. "Low uptake" schools were those where the head teachers had reported lower levels of commitment to BEP ideas.

Even more striking than the strong associations of particular languages with particular subject areas, and more unexpected, was the other major factor which seemed to influence teachers' language choice. Before starting our classroom observation, we had asked the teachers to rate their pupils' fluency in Gaelic, on a High-Mid-Low scale, independently of our own assessments. When observing the teachers in class, we then noted which language was spoken to which pupils.

The researchers found that in "high uptake" schools, teachers spoke to pupils they regarded as fully fluent somewhat more often in Gaelic than in English. They used the two languages equally to address pupils seen as partially fluent, but used English almost exclusively to pupils seen as of low Gaelic fluency. A similar trend is apparent for the "low uptake" schools, though here it was only the pupils seen as fully fluent who were addressed equally in both languages: classmates seen as having little Gaelic were hardly ever addressed directly in the language.

These striking figures show that it was only those children seen as already bilingual who actually received a consistent bilingual experience, when talking face to face with their teacher. Monolingual English-speaking children received virtually monolingual English instruction, despite being in a classroom of overall bilingual character. While the teachers expressed some uncertainty about the aims of the BEP for monolingual English speakers, this

pattern of language use was certainly not consciously planned. Instead, the pressures of immediate communication needs led the teachers to switch languages with great accuracy, to aid communication with whichever child they were addressing at a given moment. The unintended outcome was, of course, that children with little oral Gaelic received few direct, face-to-face opportunities to improve their Gaelic fluency. Moreover, where such children were numerous, English quickly became the main language of whole class instruction, and Gaelic was relegated to individual/group interaction with the fluent minority alone, thus in turn restricting even these pupils' opportunities to work through Gaelic in all settings.

The Classroom Observations: General Conclusions. Our observations in these bilingual classrooms reminded us of the continuing power of English. The development of English literacy skills remained a dominant concern; Gaelic literacy skills, though regularly practised, received consistently less attention. While local efforts, including those of teacher and children, could produce high quality Gaelic literacy materials for the early years, in the later primary school years an enormous resource disparity was apparent between the two languages.

However, the observations also showed how a minority language can become a genuine medium of learning, throughout the primary years. We saw Gaelic as a main means of classroom discussion, recording and reporting, across the whole curriculum; even where English predominated in print, Gaelic functioned as the prime medium of classroom talk and oral learning. We also saw how minority language skills can in turn be developed through their communicative use across the whole curriculum. Thus we saw project-related Gaelic role play, drama, oral reporting, audio recording, and discussions in the classroom and the field, all supplementing the more traditional teaching of Gaelic language arts.

In promoting this experience, the bilingual classroom teacher was the key. Interaction with the teacher was the prime means of oral language development; her language choices were the major influence on the children's opportunity to hear and interact in Gaelic.

Three other papers from this conference, by Professor Timoti Karetu, Janet Holmes and Dr Nguyen Xuan Thu, were published in *New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues*, Vol 7 No 3, 1990, Ministry of Education. The full texts of all six papers are available from: The Publications Officer, Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre, Box 6566, Te Aro, Wellington.

1990 — A Good Year for Migrant Health

New Zealand's First Trained Health Care Interpreters for Auckland's Hospitals

by Sabine Fenton

A strong influx in immigration to this country over recent years has led to complications in the delivery of health services to the community. Although the New Zealand Health Charter emphasises the need for respect of individual dignity and equity of access, in reality Auckland's multicultural society has fared poorly in both respects. It is not only the language barrier that people from non-Anglo backgrounds have to overcome in order to receive appropriate health care, it is also their lack of knowledge and understanding of New Zealand's medical practices and culture in comparison with that of their home country.

It has long been recognised that interpreters are the essential link in the chain of comprehensive health care for a large part of New Zealand's population , as even people who seem to speak and understand English fairly well can be out of their depth when faced with complex, distressing, or sometimes life-threatening situations.

The first call for the provision of a Health Care Interpreter Service goes back to 1963, and it was periodically repeated over the years but always rejected as being too expensive. The BYO (bring your own) system and the using of hospital cleaning and kitchen staff as interpreters in the community languages went on for years, often causing personal trauma and resulting in unsatisfactory professional treatment. A new impetus in the demand for trained Health Care Interpreters came in 1988 when, in the report of the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, Judge Cartwright recommended that the Auckland Area Health Board urgently consider employing interpreters and that "other hospital workers, relatives and friends should not be relied on as interpreters". This was an important step in the development, which was further supported by the continuing pressure from hospital staff and the community, and finally by the opposition of employee organisations to the use of staff as interpreters. Their objections came from concerns over the excessive workload of staff used as interpreters and from the knowledge that interpreting requires appropriate training and professional and financial recognition.

When in 1989 the Auckland Area Health Board finally convened a working party to investigate the feasibility of an interpreter service for Auckland's hospitals and chances for

the establishment of such a service were looking good, it was time to start thinking about education and training for the future Health Care Interpreters.

The Centre for the Training of Translators and Interpreters within the School of Languages at Auckland Institute of Technology (ATI) offered the first course for Health Care Interpreters in February 1990. All major hospitals and health services had been approached to release staff to attend the course and sponsor them as well. The response from them and the community was enthusiastic and encouraging. After a selection process, 22 students were accepted, all health care givers or working in the health care field, and sharing English and 8 other languages at an advanced level between them. The course was conducted over two terms of 14 weeks each with one two-hour session per week and a two-hour exam at the end of each term. Students had to pass both exams to be awarded the ATI Certificate in Health Care Interpreting at the end of the course.

The course had three main aims: the first was concerned with the professional skills and procedures of interpreting and the ethics of the profession, the second with those special areas of the health field, with their terminology, where interpreters are most needed, and the third with cross-cultural aspects in health care. All three areas had theoretical as well as practical aspects.

The role of the Health Care Interpreter was given special attention. Interpreting in a medical situation has very special requirements and makes demands upon the interpreter that go far beyond linguistic competence. Ethical considerations (e.g. informed consent), issues of patient support (e.g. bereavement) and patient education (e.g. discharge management) are therefore as central to the training as are interpreting techniques and medical terminology. Students were asked to prepare material relevant to their professional expertise for interpreting practice. This added urgency and a real life flavour to the practical tasks and introduced the students to many different aspects of the wide range of health services available in New Zealand and to their special terminology.

Experts were called in to brief students in the special areas of the health service that had been identified in the course syllabus. The situation in New Zealand was then compared with the students' home countries. Terminology lists were verified and extended, a work book was kept up to date and extended to serve as a professional reference and resource book in the future.

The course ended with 18 students out of 22 receiving their ATI Certificate in Health Care Interpreting. The class of 1990 will staff New Zealand's first Hospital Interpreter Service in Auckland, based at Middlemore Hospital, starting operations on 29 January 1991. Since, however, the Service will not at present be able to meet all needs at all times, the students undertook a special project during the course and conceived a manual to fill the gap. The book *Health Care in Question(s)*, a manual in 9 languages, grew out of very real experience with, and concern for, their non-English speaking patients and it exists for the benefit of the patient and the health professional. The book makes it possible to take a medical history when doctor and patient do not speak the same language. The 9 languages represented are the languages of the students and the lecturer. The text consists of 192 entries, mostly questions with some statements. It is divided into six sections:

1 Family History
2 Post Medical History
3 Personal and Social History
4 Systems Inquiry
5 Childbirth
6 Informed Consent

The idea of such a medical questionnaire is not new. The contents of this book, however, are appropriate for use in a country in the Pacific region and in our time. The individual questions have been negotiated by all students, each giving of his/her experience and expertise in the field of health care. The chapter on informed consent alone makes this book extremely topical and vital.

The book is the achievement of the students of the first Health Care Interpreting Course at the Centre for the Training of Translators and Interpreters. It is well on its way to becoming a small success with orders coming in from all over New Zealand as well as from abroad. The real gain of the course, however, lies with the individual interpreter on a personal and professional level and with the non-English speaking patient who will have a better chance in the future to receive the best possible health care. Two comments from the students' course evaluation make this very clear: "I still cringe when I think back about my pre-course interpreting techniques" and "I can now refuse assignments without feeling guilty".

The first course in Health Care Interpreting was held in response to a real community need, which still exists. The demand for qualified medical interpreters has greatly increased with the establishment of the hospital interpreter service in Auckland, so this year there will be two parallel course taught. Future Health Care Interpreters from the Waikato Area Health Board will come up to Auckland for a further intensive block course in the first term, then the lecturer will go down to Hamilton to teach

another intensive block course in the second term.

The health systems and their clients in both centres will soon benefit from the availability of qualified medical interpreters. The most important of these benefits are: greater equity of access to health services, a better dialogue between health professional and patient, improved compliance with treatments, fewer re-admissions through misdiagnosis and a greater likelihood of ensuring informed consent and confidentiality for all patients.

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Dr Sabine Fenton is the Director of the Centre for the Training of Interpreters and Translators at the Auckland Institute of Technology.

A Culture Broker for Samoan Patients

by Tua Su'a

This article has been included in this journal because the concept discussed is a highly relevant one for educators and those working with people from different backgrounds: translation involves far more than just words, and good communication requires a knowledge of the other person's culture and background.

"Culture is the blueprint for the thought and action and is a dominant force in determining Health and Health-Illness Caring patterns and behaviours" (Harwood, p. 57).

I was born and raised in Western Samoa, assimilating and learning the culture for twenty years before moving to New Zealand. Even though I have been away from my homeland for fifteen years, I still treasure the Samoan beliefs, values and culture which my family still maintains. I trained in New Zealand as a General and Obstetric nurse and have been nursing for fifteen years in a hospital setting. Samoan patients were admitted or discharged from the hospital who have little or no English. In the course of my work I often get called to translate for these patients when the staff could not assess or take any history from them. Sometimes these patients were thought to be unco-operative with the staff, the treatment and the care.

One case which provides an example of the difficulties which can arise, is that of a Samoan man who had no knowledge of English at all who was admitted to the hospital with Cerebral Vascular Accident. The staff stated they found him very difficult to look after because he never tried to do things for himself. He demanded his family's help everytime they visited. The family practically did everything for him. He refused to walk or exercise and wanted to go to bed all the time. He refused Panadol when he had a headache, so the staff didn't know what to do next.

Firstly: He is a matai (chief) as well as an older person of the family. He has the power or the right to have his family care for him. The children and grandchildren look after the old. The young respect the old.

Secondly: Any Samoan person who experiences sickness plays a sick role. The family does the care while the patient stays in bed. If the patient gets up and does things for himself it means he will get *sicker not better.*

Thirdly: He refused the pills because he did not have a headache. He pointed to his head because he felt dizzy. The patient stated, "All I wanted to do was to go to bed but the staff would not let me. I asked the Samoan cleaner to help me and she did. The staff were not happy with her but she was the only one who understood what I wanted." The assumption of the staff was that he had a headache but instead he felt dizzy. If that was me feeling dizzy I would like to go to bed as well. Misinterpretation caused frustrations between both the patient and the staff.

Finally and most important of all, he did not speak nor understand English. There was a communication barrier which made things harder and more difficult to manage.

I took time to listen and we discussed all of these aspects concerning his care. Full explanations of the reasons why he had to get up and rehabilitate were given in Samoan. He appreciated this and was very pleased to talk with someone in his own language. He saw me as part of the health profession and accepted what I asked him to do. He would not accept this if it was one of the family explaining it.

To my astonishment, the same afternoon he went down to the physiotherapy department and walked as required a total of six times. The staff felt this was like a miracle.

I stated this was the result of good communication and better understanding of why he had to exercise and rehabilitate.

Spector (p. 3), acknowledged "How often people have stated: 'I have no idea what the nurses and doctors are saying! They speak a foreign language! What they are doing is so strange to me!'"

When we talk, we use medical terms the patient does not understand, let alone someone who does not speak the same language.

Due to the increasing number of Samoan patients who speak little or no English, I foresee the need of a "Culture Broker" within the health profession, to help meet their needs.

"The role of the Cultural Broker is useful in implementing the meaning of the concept of culture in a transcultural health care delivery. What is called for is skill in visualisation of two or more health systems simultaneously and putting them together in ways of great meaning and benefit for the client." (Clark , p. 10).

"Culture Brokerage is essentially an act of translation in which messages, instructions and belief systems are manipulated and processed from one group to another. Culture Brokerage may be thought of as bridging, negotiating or linking the orthodox health care systems with clients of different cultures" (Tripp-Reimer and Brink, 1985, p. 352).

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Tua Su'a works in the Health Development Unit at Hutt Hospital. This study was completed as part of the Advanced Diploma in Nursing course. The full text of this study will be available from: Publications Officer, Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre, Box 6566, Te Aro, Wellington.

Home Tutor or Mentor?

by John Moxon

I am a retired accountant who has been tutoring since September 1990. I have no knowledge of teaching methods and my experience has been that I have had very little success as a "teacher" of English as a subject but I have achieved remarkable success as what I can only describe as a "mentor", assisting my learner to deal with the problems he is encountering in everyday life in our community.

During my twenty-hour training course I became increasingly aware of my shortcomings as a teacher of English. This is no reflection on the course but merely the realisation that I was gradually approaching the time when I would have to front up to a learner and try and teach him. I have forgotten most of what I was taught in school over fifty years ago and I wondered how I was going to cope with teaching something which to me is second nature but to my learner is completely foreign. I decided that the answer lay in getting resources which I could use to teach from and which I could get my learner to use in his spare time. I had very early on decided that it was obvious that one hour per week was not going to be of much use to my learner in trying to learn the language. I therefore made it my mission to try and motivate him to work on his own as much as possible with the assistance of the resource material I would give him. This material consisted of:

- an exercise book in which to write down all new words to be remembered;
- a child's picture dictionary (this was a bad mistake);
- a book of the most frequently used English words;
- a dictionary of commonly used words and two examples of their use.

None of these proved to be of any particular interest to my learner and they finished up being used by the children to help them with their homework. They certainly did not motivate my learner to work with them on his own. At least as far as I know.

My last acquisition was a work book setting out the use of words with examples and questions to be answered by filling in blank spaces. This is currently being used in our formal weekly sessions and is proving to be the best yet. There is a certain satisfaction in getting the right answer and at the same time learning from the mistakes made.

The result on me of my apparent failure to motivate my learner was such that, when he obtained a temporary job on shift work in November and was unable to tell me when he could have his lesson from week to week, I felt the time had come to give up. I felt also that his needs were not being met by my efforts to teach him the language as a subject for an hour a week.

However, during the time of my "teaching" I became very friendly with my learner and his wife and three children. This has developed to such an extent that they are now very much part of our extended family. More than that, I have inherited their brother-in-law, a new learner, and they have asked me to be sponsor for another relative family still in the camp in Thailand.

While I was doing my teaching I got to know a lot about the family and its everyday needs and problems; and it was quite easy for me to say I could help them with their problems, particularly dealing with officialdom and government departments etc. My method was to discuss the problem in great detail to ensure that I had all the facts right then get their agreement for a particular course of action and talk to my learner about how to deal with the matter. I would suggest the words he could use and the way he could handle the matter on a one-to-one basis. We would then go to the institution or whatever and he would proceed to put his own case with me there as a backstop at all times. I deliberately

kept out of the discussion until it was absolutely necessary.

The matters we dealt with in this way have been highly successful and are as follows:

- Wrong payments from Social Welfare — refund received;
- Wrong payments by Social Welfare to Housing Corp — adjusted and mortgage payments reduced;
- Unable to produce birth certificate — documentation obtained from Immigration Department;
- Family support not applied for — back pay of over $2000 coming from IRD;
- Big problem with AMP over terms and conditions of an insurance policy — total premiums of over $4000 refunded;
- Form filling to nominate new family in Thai camp to come to NZ — application and sponsorship arranged;
- Application for a job — application completed and four months temporary job obtained;
- Need for job application training — obtained place on ACCESS training course for 12 weeks;
- Tax return to be filled in — completed and refund of tax coming;
- Obtaining permanent employment — followed up temporary job and invited to join the permanent staff;
- Basic everyday needs to be dealt with — now confident he can deal with most things and very happy.

Similar, but of course different, problems have been encountered with the brother-in-law's family in the areas of child benefit, family support, rental accommodation etc. Of particular benefit to this newly arrived family was the obtaining of furniture, appliances and bedding to the value of $2700 from a Social Welfare Establishment Grant and winter clothing for all the six children at give-away prices from the Methodist Social Service Centre.

My learners now want to come to my place at least once a week to help me around the house and grounds. We have done painting, gardening, tree cutting etc. The latest activity is to go to a farm I know of and cut firewood which they can keep to burn instead of paying for heating.

When I read the Gubbay/Cogill report on ESL tutoring in NZ their opinions immediately made sense to me as I had experienced exactly what they are advocating. However I don't believe that home tutoring should be done away with as suggested. This, in my opinion, is an essential element in the whole groundwork of tutoring ESL.

To conclude I must tell you what my learner had to say when I told him that our English lessons were not very successful. He said "but you make me feel warm inside".

What more does a tutor want?

Maximising Opportunities Within the System: The Educational Track

by Adrienne Jansen

This is a section from a report on study undertaken on a Winston Churchill Memorial Fellowship April - July 1990, in Canada and England. The report is entitled "Participation in Adult Education of Ethnic Minorities in Particular, and Disadvantaged Groups in General".

A Cambodian woman said to me recently, "It's so hard for Asians to do something new, that by just enrolling in a new course, we feel that we've won!" Once an adult has taken the often extremely difficult first step *into* education, it is important to capitalise on that first step, and to encourage them as far along the educational track as they wish to go.

Out of any study leave, perhaps one or two ideas emerge more powerfully than any others. For me, the idea with the most potential was that of seeing *all* students, no matter at what point they enter the adult education system, as being, not on this or that specific course, but on an educational "track". This approach is a powerful tool in keeping people in the system and encouraging them to move forward.

Seeing students on such a "track" has powerful benefits for students from ethnic minority groups: it ensures that students are seen in terms of their aspirations rather than in stereotyped ways; ESOL classes are clearly seen as a route into other options; and it has implications for provision of language support. However, as with any good educational idea, all students benefit, and also the institution as a whole: a result of this policy is that all students become better informed about the range of courses that an institution offers, which is an excellent means of publicity.

The impetus for this direction, and in some cases the urgency in its implementation, has come from the fact of a shrinking job market for unskilled people, and thus the need for people to improve their skills in order to have any chance of employment. It also comes from the concern that so many people are under-employed in relation to their potential.

In this framework, *every* adult education course, full or part time, is seen both as having value as a stand-alone course, but also as a potential step in a progression towards further education and up-skilling. Of course, this happens in New Zealand; link and bridging courses, for example, are specifically designed to lead into other courses, and "staircasing" has become the current popular term to describe this

progression. What impressed me, as with outreach programmes, is what happens when it becomes a clear policy over an entire institution.

General Implications
This approach has several implications:

Course Planning. For *every* course, the question is asked, What next? What can students go on to after this course (if they wish)? Wherever possible or appropriate, courses are planned in sequence. Wandsworth Institute, which offers a wide range of both "hobby" and vocational courses, frequently offers hobby courses which can specifically lead into more substantial vocationally-oriented courses in a related area. Several places offered "taster" courses — short introductory courses designed to lead into larger courses. Wandsworth Institute is working towards developing clear sequences of courses for students at all of its main sites. Vauxhall College, in its prospectus, includes a "What Next?" statement with most of its course descriptions.

Because of the emphasis placed on progression routes for students, many "return to learning" courses are offered; for example, Westminster Institute, in its programme of courses for "people whose first language is not English, women returning to study after a gap due to family responsibilities, unemployed people who want to return to study, and people whose school education was interrupted", offers some twenty five courses focusing on study skills, literacy skills, numeracy and maths, some targeted at specific groups.

Provision of educational guidance. Educational guidance becomes part of the core curriculum of every course, and in every course (including part time courses) time is allocated for it. This may be one hour in a twenty-hour part-time course, one session at the end of each term, or in the case of Vauxhall College General Studies Department , a one and a half hour tutorial time per week for all students in all courses, which is designated for group or individual tutorial work, and specifically for education guidance.

Implications for tutors. Educational guidance then becomes part of every tutor's job description. Obviously this does not mean that every tutor is expected to be a highly skilled educational counsellor. Rather, as Sue Gardener of Westminster said, it is "an active system to keep encouraging people to look at ways to realise their aspirations". At least tutors are able to help students voice their aspirations, perhaps break them down into short term goals, provide them with information about further options, and direct them to a counsellor when necessary. At Tower Hamlets, in the ESOL Department, all tutors (full and part-time) have been given some training in educational counselling, are paid some hours specifically for that purpose, and all students have an individual tutorial and guidance session of two hours every term.

It also means that tutors need to be informed about the range of courses and options their students may wish to move on to. At Manchester City College, which runs many short part-time courses, Hilary Pirie sends information about courses to all ESOL tutors, both full and part-time, every two weeks. Again, this does not mean that tutors are required to have detailed knowledge of all options. But once again, if tutors are expected to provide this kind of information for their students, it should be clearly acknowledged in their job description.

There are benefits to an institution in having students well-informed about the range of courses offered: it is excellent publicity; it also breaks the cycle that can occur, of having, for example, students from one ethnic group taking a very small range of courses because that is all they have heard about through the word-of-mouth network. Having students well-informed about courses is likely to encourage them to consider a much wider range of options.

Implications for ESOL Courses
Seeing students on an educational track rather than in any one single course has implications for ESOL courses, because the "track" for ESOL students will inevitably be out of English classes into mainstream courses.

- Educational guidance, once again, becomes part of the core curriculum for ESOL classes.
- There may be changes in content. At Vauxhall College, the core curriculum for all ESOL courses (including at the beginners level) includes language, maths, computing and educational guidance (maths and computing are both double-staffed, with a subject tutor and a language support tutor); ESOL students also take subjects from the Additional Studies programme (e.g. GCSE subjects), and they also take part in half day workshops for all students at the college in art, design etc; language support is provided for the ESOL students.
- Tutors from mainstream courses are encouraged to take sessions with ESOL classes (with language support), both to increase the ESOL students' knowledge of other options, and also to make mainstream tutors more aware of the needs of ESOL students.

Language Support
Provision of language support becomes essential if ESOL students are seen to be on a learning track

which will take them into mainstream courses. Hilary Pirie (Manchester City College) said, "Students have the right to do any course they choose, and the institution has the responsibility to provide language support for them."

The question of language support is a separate and large issue. But to risk a very sketchy and superficial summary, my impressions from the places that I visited were that:

- Support, not only for ESOL students but for all students needing support because of poor literacy or numeracy skills etc, was a central issue.
- A policy of language support must be adopted at a senior management level; if left to individual departments it won't be implemented.
- Provision of language support was difficult. There were major difficulties in funding. There was also often resistance from mainstream tutors, who found that they needed to learn new skills, and were afraid that standards would drop if they allowed ESOL students into their classes.

Newham College were considering a radical approach to these difficulties, in a restructuring of the college in which there would be an "entitlement curriculum", of guidance, language support etc, which would provide the central core of the college, around which would be grouped four larger faculties.

The Need for General Support

It isn't just a question of *language* support. While I was working on this report I had a conversation which so sharply illustrated the need of ESOL students for support in mainstream courses, that I decided to include it, even though it doesn't strictly belong in the report. H is a single Cambodian woman, in her late 30s, who is exceptionally motivated to do well here. She came to New Zealand in 1981, speaking very little English. She has done several ESOL courses, including the English Language Institute intensive summer course, for which she took time off work. She has taken courses in typing, computing, and assertiveness. After several frustrating years doing assembly line work she was finally given the break she so much wanted, and was moved into the factory office to learn computer draughting.

Earlier this year she enrolled in a polytechnic evening course in Computer Aided Design; it was the first part of a two-part programme which would lead to a certificate. The cost was $160. This is her account of her experience with that course, and why she dropped out after several weeks.

"It's very hard to start a new course, very hard to enrol, get into the car and go. But when I enrolled for this course, I had a lot of confidence to do it, because I knew that I enjoyed doing that kind of work very much. I wanted to complete both courses and get my certificate. It was my second time at that polytech: the first time was a few years ago, and I only went twice; that was my fault, because my English wasn't good enough for the course. This time I felt confident to do it.

"Why I dropped out — I don't think it's an English problem, it's a problem of the way the teacher explains things. He's quite friendly. But he spends most of the time with the students who pick things up quickly. If you ask him something, he will tell you, but he won't slow down and tell you properly. He will say, 'Like that, like that, and like that.' Very fast. Sometimes I don't understand his explanation. But the main problem is, I always have to ask him, he never asks me. Sometimes he passes me, and I sit and hope that he will come and ask me if I understand. But he never does. And when I have had to ask him many times I feel bad. So I say, I won't ask him any more. But then I feel as though I'm not learning anything.

"As Asian people, we don't like to ask the teacher questions loudly. We want the teacher to come to us, so that we can ask quietly, one-to-one. It's hard enough to make ourselves ask questions anyway.

"I think if he had paid just a little bit more attention to me, I would have felt more free to ask him. Then I could have done that course. Once I understand what he wanted us to do, it wasn't too difficult, and it was a lot of fun. I feel very disappointed now."

This is why Vauxhall College, currently reviewing its ESOL policy, sees ESOL classes as only a part of the policy, which also includes providing more language support on mainstream courses, raising the awareness of mainstream staff of the needs of ESOL students, and targeting specific mainstream courses and tutors where it is felt that there are particular needs in relation to ESOL students.

A final note about H's experience: when she dropped out of the course, a Pakeha friend who had also been attending the course dropped out also — for the same reasons. Once again, what benefits ESOL students, in this case better teaching practice and more awareness of how individual students respond, will benefit *all* students.

Vocabulary Knowledge and Schooling: Some Issues

by Madeline Carroll

Vocabulary level is one of the most significant factors in determining school achievement. The language needs of new students from other countries are readily identified, but New Zealand born students from a non-English-speaking background (NESB) also have language needs which are often overlooked.

The learning of new words is basic to the development of language skills and to achievement in the classroom. Research suggests (P. Jamieson, 1976) that ESL children continue to lag behind in their vocabulary development despite learning new words at a similar rate to their peers who are native speakers of English. The larger the gap in word knowledge, the greater must be the impact on learning and access to information for students from other language backgrounds.

A good level of vocabulary knowledge is crucial for the development of the reading and literacy skills that are the basis of achievement at secondary school. It has been estimated that native speakers of English learn about 1,000 words a year while at school. But often double this rate of vocabulary acquisition is required by ESL students to catch up with their peers. Students need to be able to recognise and decode words to achieve at reading and comprehension tasks. In turn, effective learning, depth of understanding and recall ability are a product of good comprehension. Thus, if teachers are able to determine the vocabulary range of their students, it is easier for them to select the most appropriate texts, to plan instruction and to design materials.

Many students are able to fluently converse and manage the demands of daily social interaction, which can be done with a vocabulary of 2000 words or less, yet do not have the vocabulary required to meet the demands of secondary school study. Textbooks at junior secondary level require an understanding of about 4,000 headwords (headwords = a base word and inflected forms), and more than 5,000 headwords at senior secondary level. Many academic words are derived from Latin and Greek roots which are quite unfamiliar to many ESL students, although they may have been born in New Zealand. Students who are required to read demanding materials which are beyond their current knowledge and skills may quickly lose confidence and motivation, and the "failure spiral" begins.

A vocabulary survey was carried out on 137 Form 4 girls in Wellington schools to assess the extent of the gap in vocabulary knowledge between native and non-native speakers of English. The 60 test items were grouped in five levels of decreasing frequency, and the students were required to match words and definitions. This tested only the recognition of a word and not an understanding of a range of meanings or an ability to use the word appropriately.

Native speakers of English generally scored very highly, showing that the test did not measure the upper levels of their vocabulary and thus the full extent of the gap between native and non-native speakers is masked.

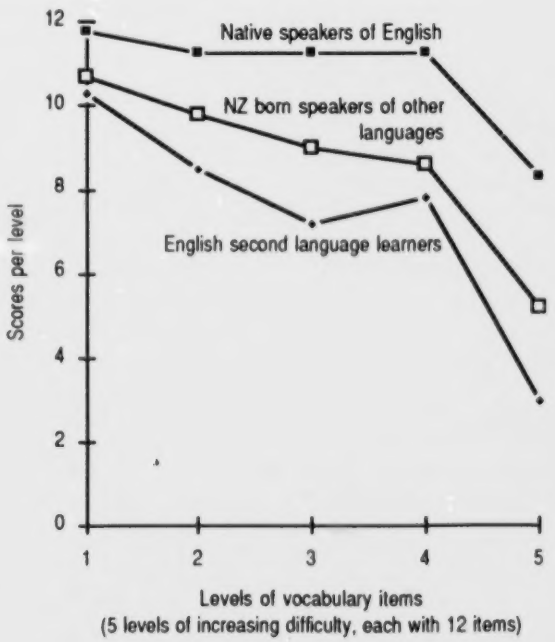


Table 1. Graph comparing the mean scores of native speakers of English, New Zealand born speakers of other languages, and English as a second language learners (ESL = in NZ 6 years or less). Frequency levels:
Level 1 = 600 most frequent words
Level 2 = 1000 most frequent words
Level 3 = 1500 most frequent words
Level 4 = 2000 most frequent words
Level 5 = 5000 most frequent words

The graph shows that the gap between native and non-native speakers of English widens for words which are less frequently used. This is hardly surprising for students who may have been in New Zealand for six years or less, and it is pleasing to see that ESL students are learning some words at all levels of difficulty — that is, technical or specialist words of a subject are being learnt at the same time as "everyday vocabulary". However, what is of concern are the very low scores of many students who are New Zealand born, but from non-English speaking backgrounds, some of whom scored lower than ESL

students who had been learning English for 6 years or less.

Students with the lowest scores had limited word knowledge at all levels, even at the level of the most frequent 1000 words of school English. Many of the New Zealand born students who are speakers of other languages seem to lack a recognition of words beyond the most frequent 2000 words of school English, i.e., half of what they need to know to function effectively at secondary school. Generally the highest scores by non-native speakers of English were similar to the average scores of native speakers, and the average scores of non-native speakers of English were in a similar range of scores to the least proficient native speakers. Amongst the New Zealand born speakers of other languages the Indian and Asian girls generally achieved higher scores than the Pacific Islands girls.

There may be many factors involved in these results, including attitudes to taking tests and school, expectations of success or failure, test-taking skills and understanding of the instructions and definitions of the test items. Some overseas research suggests that students who have received schooling and/or are literate in their home language seem to learn the second language more quickly and to higher levels of proficiency, and this may be one factor affecting the learning of English by these students.

Many children who are New Zealand born are coming to school at 5 years old with little or no English, and are expected to develop literacy skills in English, not in the home language. This places very heavy learning demands on them, and it is very difficult to overcome this gap in literacy development as well as in English language proficiency. It is possible that initial schooling in the languages of the home may help these children to progress more rapidly in school learning. Socio-economic factors may affect the acquisition of school English because school may seem to have little relevance to their lives. Limited expectation of employment or participation in many areas of New Zealand life may affect the motivation to acquire the language of the classroom and text-books.

A restricted school vocabulary is probably both a result and a cause of low school attainment. Vocabulary acquisition is firmly linked to world knowledge and comprehension skills. Development of reading and language skills need to be a part of every classroom, not just the English lesson. As reading is one of the most efficient ways of developing vocabulary knowledge, an important part of every school programme should be the development of reading skills, enjoyment of reading, and time available for wide and varied reading to extend general knowledge and vocabulary development.

Students from all language backgrounds are learning new words in school, but too many are not learning enough or fast enough to give them access to the content they are required to understand and learn. The language demands of secondary school study are considerable, and it seems that all teachers in every subject area need to help students to improve their rate of vocabulary learning and English language proficiency so that they may be able to improve their school achievement.

Madeline Carroll is a secondary teacher. The research described in this article was carried out as part of study for the Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language.

Some Suggestions on Teaching English to Chinese New Immigrants

by Wang Yong-xiang

In the past few months, I have been observing in various English classes in New Zealand. Through my contact with the Chinese students in these classes, I have found they have some problems in adjusting to the new teaching situations here.

The bilingual (English and Chinese) English classes they have been so used to in China are gone. Instead they have the real English classes in which only English is spoken. For most of them, this is a very big challenge. As well, their English learning habits formed in China are often in conflict with the ways English is taught here. This, I think, leads them further into trouble.

There is obviously a gap there. The teachers involved in teaching these Chinese students in New Zealand have long noticed it. They sometimes ask me how English is taught in China and what I, as a teacher of English from China, think they could do to bridge this gap. I have been thinking about this for some time now and I would like to offer the following suggestions, and advice about what the students have been used to in China. Some suggestions are suitable for the class teacher. Others will be better for individual or small group tuition where this can be made available.

Always take care to speak clearly

The biggest problem faced by many of the Chinese students in New Zealand is that they can not follow the teacher in class. Nothing would be more frustrating than that.

English is taught as a foreign language in China. It is a compulsory course throughout the six years of secondary school education. (In some schools, Russian or Japanese is available as a

foreign language instead.) For most pupils, the objectives for studying English are quite clear: to pass the national university entrance examination which they will sit when they finish their secondary schools. As the English examination focuses on grammar and vocabulary items, listening comprehension is often a relatively neglected skill in English classes.

Outside of class, the pupils have little conversational practice in English. They speak Chinese to their classmates, parents and even their English teachers. A big number of them seldom have the opportunity to practise with native speakers of English. As a result, their skills in listening comprehension have not been developed much.

This does not worry them in China though because most teachers conduct their English classes by first saying something in English and then translating it into Chinese. The students mainly rely on the Chinese translation to know what they are required to do. Anything they do not understand, they can ask in Chinese.

Because of all this, I think it would be safe for their teachers in New Zealand to speak slowly at first, and repeat if necessary, particularly when explanations and instructions are being given.

Write down the important words and phrases

By important words and phrases. I mean those which the teacher expects the students to learn. For example, when talking about daylight saving time, the teacher could jot down on the blackboard the phrase *daylight saving time* and then give a list of the words he or she wants the students to learn and remember. Words that are common to native kids might turn out to be very difficult for the students who are learning English as a foreign language, especially when not written down.

As I have previously said, the listening comprehension skills of these students might not have been very well developed. It is highly likely that they fail to understand the words when just spoken. There are other reasons as well.

Most of the Chinese new immigrants who are learning or improving their English in New Zealand at present are adults. Through years of reading, they often find it easier to learn by seeing the words or phrases in print. They tend to trust their vision more than their listening comprehension. They might have a sense of insecurity if the words are not written down.

Another reason is that they have their English learning background back in China. There, whenever a new text is presented, the list of new words and expressions will be offered at the end of the text. Whenever a new important word out of the text is introduced, it will be written down on the blackboard. As time passes by, most students have come to rely on the printed word. To them, the word list given after the reading passage and the words written down on the blackboard are important words which they should remember.

Thus by writing down the words or phrases, the teacher has actually emphasised their importance, made it much easier for the students to understand and shown that these are the words to be remembered.

Let the students read the words after you

Through my observation, I have noticed that New Zealand teachers seldom give a chance for the students to imitate them in reading new words. Possibly they are afraid of hurting the self-esteem of these foreign students, or perhaps they assume the students are able to sort out the problems themselves. I do not know the reasons, whatever they are. What I do know is that reading words after the teacher is very important for the Chinese students as foreign language learners.

In an English class in China, the most frequent instructions given are "Read after me". If an English class is going on, you can hear the kids repeating words after the teacher far off. This gives them much confidence in reading English words. I think it is just like a helping reassuring hand stretched out to babies who are learning to walk.

They have been used to this kind of help from the teacher and they still need it in New Zealand, at least in transition. Very often they hesitate to speak out the words they have just learned only because they are not sure how to pronounce them correctly. In other words, they can not run before they have learnt to walk steadily.

But merely parroting words is not good. It could be very boring. Teachers can vary this activity by asking the students to read individually and correcting them if necessary. They can also play vocabulary games with the students until they could all read the words with confidence.

Allow time for practice in the sounds particularly hard for the Chinese students

Do not correct the students' pronunciation in class, but make time for pronunciation practice individually or in withdrawal situations.

As far as the learning of English is concerned, different people have different problems. One of the greatest stumbling-blocks of all to the Chinese speakers is the sounds of English.

Generally speaking, the two *th* sounds as in *thank* and *that* are hard for all Chinese students, because these sounds do not occur in the Chinese language. It usually takes some time and effort for them to form the habit of putting the tongue between the teeth when uttering these sounds.

The common mistake is to pronounce *thank* as sank, that as *zat*.

The consonants *tr* and *dr* as in *tree* and *dry, ch* and *dge* as in *church* and *judge*, and the diphthongs *i* as in *bike, ou* as in *loud, oa* as in *boat* and *ai* as in *train* are also likely to cause some trouble for most Chinese people. It is not because these sounds are hard to pronounce, but because they have slightly different counterparts in Chinese and the interference from the native language is usually too strong to be overcome in a short period of time.

There are many dialects spoken in China and different dialects would interfere in different ways with the learning of English pronunciation. Some people from the north, for example, often find it hard to pronounce the *sh* sound. So instead of saying *English*, you may hear them say *Englis*. Some southerners may have trouble with the distinction of *r* and *l* sounds. As you may have heard from the TV ad, *secret* is produced somewhat like *seclet*.

Some Chinese students do not speak much in class here. One of the important reasons is that they have no confidence in their pronunciation. Therefore it will be very helpful if exercises are provided to give them more practice in these sounds.

Review regularly the previous work with them

In saying this, I by no means imply that those teachers who are teaching Chinese students in New Zealand do not review previous lessons with them. What I mean is that they could review more regularly and frequently in class. I believe this will be a great help to their English learning.

In secondary schools in China, a five-minute quiz at the beginning of the class to review what has been recently learnt has long been part of the routine for teachers of English. They normally give the pupils a dictation of newly learned words and expressions, ask the pupils to act out a dialogue or recite a paragraph form the text.

The great advantage is that the pupils have to prepare for the class quiz. It is a loss of face if they fail it. A New Zealand teacher who had been to China told me once that while in China, she had seen many Chinese students on the campus early in the morning, holding English textbooks in their hands and reviewing their lessons.

I think this kind of revision is necessary in China because out of class there is not much chance to practise what has been learnt in class. Without this repetition and reinforcement, the newly learnt words, sentence structures and grammatical rules will have gone with the wind in a matter of several days.

The other advantage about revision is that it makes the learners realise they are making progress in their English studies. From good revision, they gain confidence and a feeling of success. As far as I can see, this feeling is very important to foreign language learners, no matter where they are.

Draw on more reading materials from Chinese culture

Every language is a reflection of the culture that produces it. Therefore teaching that language often means teaching the culture at the same time. There is no doubt about that.

We all know, however, that eastern and western cultures are very different. A typical example is the use of chopsticks compared to the use of knife and fork.

The same could be said of English teaching. Many Chinese people who have recently moved into this country are not familiar with the things here. I feel they are sometimes culturally disadvantaged because most of the reading materials used in class are foreign to them.

To make learning easier, I think, it is necessary to give considerable weight to the students' native culture and to choose more materials they are familiar with. In this way, their motivation can be increased.

Most Chinese students have read or heard of stories from such classics as *The Journey West, The Dream of the Red Chamber, The Water Margin* and *The Three Kingdoms*. These stories, for instance, could well serve as reading materials for the Chinese students.

To do this, the teacher probably has to make a study of the Chinese culture. He or she may have to adapt or abridge many of the stories. It is time-consuming, but I think it would prove to be worthwhile.

Finally, before I conclude, I must make two things clear. One is that these suggestions are not meant to be critical of the English teaching here. In fact, I have benefited a lot from observing the English classes here and I have learned many excellent teaching techniques and methods which I intend to adapt to my own class in China. The other thing is that my observation, on the whole, is still quite narrow. The suggestions given above are based on my own experience of English learning and teaching in China. They may not have a wide application. I would be very pleased if they were of any help in the teaching of English to the Chinese people in New Zealand.

Wang Yong-xiang is at the English Department, Zhangjiakou Teachers College, Hebei Province, Peoples Republic of China. He spent 1990 in NZ as a participant in the AFS Adult Educators Programme.

Monica Lok at Wakaaranga Primary School — A Personal Story of Integration

My family and I arrived in Auckland on 23 August 1989. I was a secondary school teacher in Hong Kong. As part of my preparation to migrate, I tried to obtain information about New Zealand from different resources. I got very little, so we came largely ill prepared.

I am now living in Sunnyhills, Pakuranga. My husband and I spent the first few weeks settling our family. We finally decided to send our children to Wakaaranga Primary School. We had met the principal, Mr Tony Jarvis, and in our conversation, we perceived Tony as willing and able to help his staff and students. The school also has a very good reputation in the community. Wakaaranga is recommended by most of my friends.

In two months after our arrival, my husband had to go back to Hong Kong because of business. We, the rest of us, were left behind. In Hong Kong, I worked and led a busy life. In New Zealand I felt lonely and had no job. Housework and children could not fill my time. I wanted to continue my study.

However I faced something more important that my personal pursuits. My daughter, Mable, faced adjustment problems. She could not understand English very well and felt she had no friends at all because she could not communicate with others.

I met Mrs M Sharp, Mable's homeroom teacher. She is a responsible teacher who loves her students very much. She let me stay with Mable during class time so I could understand how she learnt and how to help her at home.

I associated my own knowledge of learning and teaching in the Chinese/Hong Kong context to what I saw in Wakaaranga. In New Zealand I discovered that what I knew about learning was in practice — for example, learning by doing, discovery method. I became interested in the class and the school. It was also the first time I had the chance to become a "parent help".

I turned up three times a week, mostly because of my little Mable. Gradually, I made friends with the mothers who came to help and their young children became Mable's friends too. We were not lonely anymore.

Chinese mothers called me because they wanted to know how they could help their children in English. Sometimes they needed translation of the newsletter they could not understand — terminology such as BOT/PTA/MOT proved difficult. We also shared our problems in daily living. I turned to Tony or Bev, teachers at Wakaaranga, if we had problems related to children or school. Indeed, Wakaaranga possesses a team of well-trained staff. They love and care for their students very much.

In February 1990, on Tony's and the BOT's request, I became a member of the BOT of Wakaaranga. Mr Kevin Kao also joined the PTA. He is active in the Chinese community and we now work together for the school and the children.

In March 1990, we held a meeting with the Chinese parents. With their consent, we employed an experienced ESL teacher, Mrs M Edwards, to conduct ESL classes before school. Chinese parents also showed a great deal of concern about their children at school. Kevin and I explained how important parents are and invited them to join the parent-help scheme. We had little immediate response. I knew we had to wait.

A few days later Mrs Cheung volunteered, then later Mrs Chan and it began to snowball. Finally we had eight mothers who came once or twice a week regularly. They continue to come.

To give an idea of the increasing involvement of parents, in December, 1990 the PTA held a fund-raising function. Almost every Chinese mother turned up. They prepared the food and some donated gifts. We knew we were working not only for the school but also for our children. We had left our place of birth and resettled here for the benefit of the next second generation, and the next. We will do everything for their good.

I too have benefitted. I have made new friends and met new people. Some of them have helped me to understand the community and the country in which we are living.

In 1991, I continue my relationship with Wakaaranga, not just for my Mable or for myself, but for all the lovely children who need Aunt Monica.

Successful Relationships Between Hong Kong/Taiwan Parents and School

Points and principles:

- Be patient: most Asians are shy and passive in the very beginning.
- Stress the importance of understanding and cooperation: between parents / school / learners / society ... thus successful education.
- Help parents and learners understand how school works: What? When? Where? Who?
- Do not hesitate to tell or suggest to parents/learners what to do; when they understand expectations, they respect and will follow instructions.
- Provide important points in writing: because of difficulties with English and a fear of mistakes, give written information, especially

in their own language if possible. This will lead to confidence, ensure no mistakes and develop trust and independence.
- Deal with parents and learners directly: if parents are not available then elder brother or sister can take their place.
- Do not expect immediate resolution to problems or concerns: the father is the one who makes the decisions and may not be immediately available. He will do something later.

First steps to be taken by the school:
- Let them know the school: the classrooms and special rooms, library, general office, staff room toilets, lunchroom, etc.
- Provide basic information:
  - name of homegroup teacher;
  - school telephone number;
  - a prospectus, if any;
  - a map of the school if they should get lost;
  - who can help if there's a problem;
  - where to go for help in different situations.
- Further information needed:
  Initially:
  - school calendar showing holidays, special functions;
  - timetable so child can bring needed materials;
  - deadline dates;
  - times of tests and exams and what is to be tested.

  Later:
  - as much information as possible about the child's progress;
  - information about worries and weaknesses;
  - what homework is to be done and school expectations for it;
  - ways in which parents can help the child in school and the school.
- Set up a liaison person to:
  - communicate in their own language;
  - explain policy, translate documents and newsletters;
  - act as an interpreter with interviews and meetings.
- Use parents as parent help so that:
  - parents and school co-operate and interact in helping their own children do well at school;
  - parents can learn about how school works at first hand;
  - children feel secure with parents around school and they have a talking point.
- Involve Asian parents as representatives on working committees, PTA, BOT, etc.

This is only the outline — the success of any educational institution in catering for Asian parents and children depends on willingness, patience, empowerment, and great sensitivity.

The efforts have great spin-offs for everyone.

Cantonese At Cashmere Avenue School

by Diane Young

Every Tuesday around 1.30 pm twelve children carrying large folders and a pencil case can be seen hurrying along to the school library. They chatter happily amongst themselves and play around as they wait for the teacher to arrive. A passer-by would think nothing of this group of children unless he were to stop and listen to their conversation. Then he would discover that some of the children were speaking a mixture of English and something else. This is the Cashmere Avenue Cantonese class.

The class has been running since the beginning of Term 3, 1990 — initially under the guidance of Mrs A Chan and Ms S Sun. Recently, we have been fortunate enough to acquire the services of Mrs D Chong, a New Zealand registered teacher. Mrs Chong has been able to utilise her training of New Zealand teaching techniques together with her knowledge of the Cantonese language. We value her expertise and her contacts! She has enlisted the help of another person who is keen to teach Cantonese and Mrs Chong is providing her with the necessary "on-the-spot" training.

The class is held once a week for an hour and active parent participation is welcomed to reinforce at home what is learnt in class. This is of vital important because the group are all at a beginning-level Cantonese fluency and the majority of the group came from non-Chinese backgrounds. One hour a week does not make a fluent Cantonese speaker! At the beginning of Term 2, 1991, we welcomed into our group three new children. It highlighted for us just how much work both the original group of children and their parents had done and how much they had achieved in such a short space of time.

The class was set up with the following objectives in mind:
- to provide a programme of support for and encouragement of the Cantonese dialect and customs experienced at home;
- to provide an opportunity for non-Chinese to actively participate in and learn about the Cantonese language and culture;
- to develop a respect for and an understanding of a culture and language other than Maori and English at Cashmere Avenue School.

The major focus of the class is on everyday conversational Cantonese. Revision of previous work begins each class and each child is expected to have practiced at home during the week. The parents and children have a tape at home to help with pronunciation and retention of new vocabulary. This term, we have deviated from the tape to include topics that have could have

relevance to everyday living for New Zealand children, e.g., the types of afterschool activities that the children are engaged in. The session involves practical activities, telling Chinese folk stories related to various customs or to reinforce the phrases taught, and the learning of some simple Chinese songs.

During the first two terms of operation, we invited an adviser of junior schools from Teacher Support services, who is Chinese herself, to watch the class and offer suggestions or comments about the direction which the class was taking. She was impressed with the amount of Cantonese which the children could use with ease after such a short time. Her opinion helped to strengthen parental feelings that what we had initiated was right for our children — both Chinese and non-Chinese. It also highlighted the fact that it is easier to acquire a second language (because that is what the children are doing — English is their first language) when you are younger.

The recent move to develop recommendations for formulating a National Languages policy by the Government are a welcome sign. It is an acknowledgment at last, of the importance of having the opportunity to develop a respect for and knowledge of community languages and customs in a school environment. Schools are traditionally seem as socialising agencies for the wider society in general. By promoting active maintenance of community languages and cultures in schools, future generations will become truly "multicultural" rather than being "multi-ethnic" which is the situation today.

There has been a lot of interest in the class at Cashmere Avenue from other members of the community who are keen to set up similar classes in their schools. It is pleasing to note that within our local area, Cantonese classes have now been established at two other schools with negotiations underway at a third. We have been fortunate to have had the full support of both the Principal, the staff and the Board of Trustees. Without their assistance in providing classroom space, photocopying facilities and other consumables, the class would still be a pipe dream.

Mrs Chong's work at this stage is made slightly easier because most of the children are at a similar level of fluency. We have lost a few of the original sixteen children because they have moved away but are encouraged by the fact that there are children waiting to join the class when a vacancy arises. The children are eager to learn and have quickly formed a sense of comaradeship with each other — something that is not always an easy feat with an age range of 6-11 years. Parent support has played a major role in sustaining children's learning and their interest in Cantonese. We are eagerly awaiting the return of three of the group who decided that they were really to be let loose on the unsuspecting population of Hong Kong! Those involved in the class look forward to the challenges that the Cashmere Avenue Cantonese classes will provide in the future.

Joigen ...

Diane Young is the Deputy Principal of Cashmere Avenue School.

Christchurch Khmer (Cambodian) Sunday Classes

Most community language classes take place after school or in the weekends. Schools can still offer support by allowing their premises to be used, as this example from Christchurch shows.

Khmer Sunday Classes were started in 1988 as the result of a collective agreement between the parents of the community from Cambodia. The aims are to teach Khmer language to the children of primary age and to promote contact and understanding among everyone involved. Teachers drawn from the community take the classes once a week for two hours. Rowley Primary provided classrooms in 1988, Christchurch Polytechnic in 1989 and Hagley High in 1990. The parents appreciate the support of these schools.

Features observed over these three years are:

- the development of the children's knowledge of Khmer language including some reading and writing;
- the learning of dancing and singing in order for groups to take part in various city concerts;
- the forming of friendships between children who live in different parts of the city;
- the opportunity for parents to have greater understanding of the learning environments of their children both in these classes and in week-day school life.

At the end of each year parents and teachers organise a prize-giving day with the assistance of the community from Cambodia and donations from sponsors and friends. The programme reflects and highlights the learning experiences and achievement of the year. The children present their items to the audience and afterwards there are games and a special meal of traditional food.

My Two Languages, My Two Homes

by Chanel Sauvao

Here in New Zealand, as a Samoan born and raised in this country, I still have the feeling that I am an immigrant. My parents both left their native Samoa in search of work and a higher standard of living in New Zealand. They found the country had many opportunities open for them and took them. The family (aiga) bond is just as strong here as it is back in the Islands.

In Samoa if you are well educated, like a lawyer or a doctor, you are held in high esteem by your family and friends. When Samoans come to New Zealand in search of work and education they instil that nature of working to succeed into their kids, which is very hard for a lot of Samoans, or any child, to handle. They are aware that their palagi playmates do not have that sort of pressure placed upon their shoulders, yet they seem to do well.

Since I have had an enormous influence from the palagi culture, I look to my elders for knowledge into my Samoan origins. In my household there are two languages spoken, Samoan and English. Thanks to my mother's competence in the English language it was easier for me to communicate with her in English, since nearly everyone else I came into contact with spoke English. I was never pressured into speaking the Samoan language. Since Samoan was spoken frequently between my parents, my sisters and I could understand it fluently, but speaking in Samoan was a different story. This is a major problem among the New Zealand born Samoans. An alarming number of Samoans born and raised in this country have little knowledge of how to reply when asked a question in the Samoan language. The feeling is that since they are living in this country and not in Samoa, they therefore have no need to speak Samoan; but since there has been increased migration to New Zealand, Samoan is spoken here as frequently and naturally as it is back home.

Many schools in Porirua have become aware of this and have come to the rescue of those kids asking for help in their native tongue. Porirua College has a weekly class run by Samoan elders in the teaching of the Samoan culture and language for interested students. Victoria University has established an introductory course in the Samoan language.

Being Samoan, I am aware of my culture and of my duty to nurture it among other Samoans who are in a similar situation, and to encourage others to accept who and what they are and to be proud. My friends and I would never use Samoan in our conversation when we were younger but over the last year or two, speaking to one another in our native tongue has become a regular feature and also an entertaining one in that we listen to find who is the more fluent. When you can speak Samoan to others you have a good feeling of who you are. I am aware that I have a lot to learn about my language and culture but I would feel cheated and incomplete as a person if I was to neglect that side of myself. A few of my friends have neglected their Samoan heritage and I feel angry and at the same time sorry for them, for it is they who are missing out on what other unfortunate people would dearly love to have, a true cultural past.

Chanel Sauvao is a journalism student at Whitireia Polytechnic.

Reviews

Second Language Learning

by Marilyn Lewis

Two recent books on second language learning will be of interest to teachers of any second language in New Zealand.

Bernard Spolsky, 1989. "Conditions for Second Language Learning", Oxford University Press.

J. Michael O'Malley and Anna Uhl Chamot, 1990. "Learning strategies in Second Language Acquisition", Cambridge University Press.

Bernard Spolsky, Professor of English at Bar-Ilan University, Israel and familiar to New Zealanders through contributions made here during his visits home, sets out to answer the question "Who learns how much of what language under what conditions?". Using a mathematical type formula he expands details of the learner's present knowledge and skills, the learner's ability in the widest sense of the word, effective factors and opportunities for learning the target language.

One way to use the book would be for teachers of all languages taught in a particular institution to discuss Professor Spolsky's three-way grouping of conditions for language learning. Do all teachers agree, keeping their own students in mind, with the category each condition has been allotted?

The second book, with an introduction by the series editors, Michael Long and Jack Richards, draws on general research into the learning process before making specific applications to the learning of a language. Teachers who want to be brought up to date on cognitive theories of learning and to see language learning in a wider

context will find this book informative and readable. Not only are strategies explained; there is also a chapter on how instruct students in learning the strategies.

I recommend both books for individual and collective reading.

Marilyn Lewis is a Senior Lecturer in English Language Teaching at Auckland University.

Ethnic Diversity

by Leith Wallace

Ethnic diversity in New Zealand is being given increasing recognition, and celebrated for the richness it brings to society. The following three publications explore different aspects of diversity, and are both interesting in themselves and valuable for the insights they give.

Migration and New Zealand Society
Proceedings of the Stout Research Centre Sixth Annual Conference, Victoria University, 1989.

This collection of the papers and presentations is as varied as the groups represented. Albert Wendt, writer, and Riemke Ensing, poet, give personal accounts; Theresa Sawicka and Ann Beaglehole describe the Polish and Eastern European refugee communities they grew up in. These accounts are moving for the close emotional involvement of the presenters.

Equally moving for its content is Sue Elliot's paper on refugee policy, while Dianne and Peter Beatson's account of the history of Chinese migration outlines changes in attitudes over a century which still find echoes today. Several other papers round out this collection, described in the summing-up by Bill Renwick as a "rich tapestry of experiences, perspectives and feelings".

Available from the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University for $12.00. A limited quantity remains.

Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics
Volume 1 1990, edited by Janet Holmes

Four papers in this collection look at aspects of language maintenance in the Tongan, Samoan and Sri Lankan communities in Wellington, and at attitudes to the Maori language. As in the publication described above, considerable diversity is found, and the factors which influence language maintenance or language loss are described.

Available from: The Secretary, Department of Linguistics, Victoria University, for $8.00.

Stories of Greek Journeys
by Maria Verivakis and John Petris
Published by the Petone Settlers Museum, 1991.

"To be abroad, to be an orphan, to be sad, to be in love.
Put them in the scales and the heaviest is to be abroad."

— *part of a Cretan song of exile.*

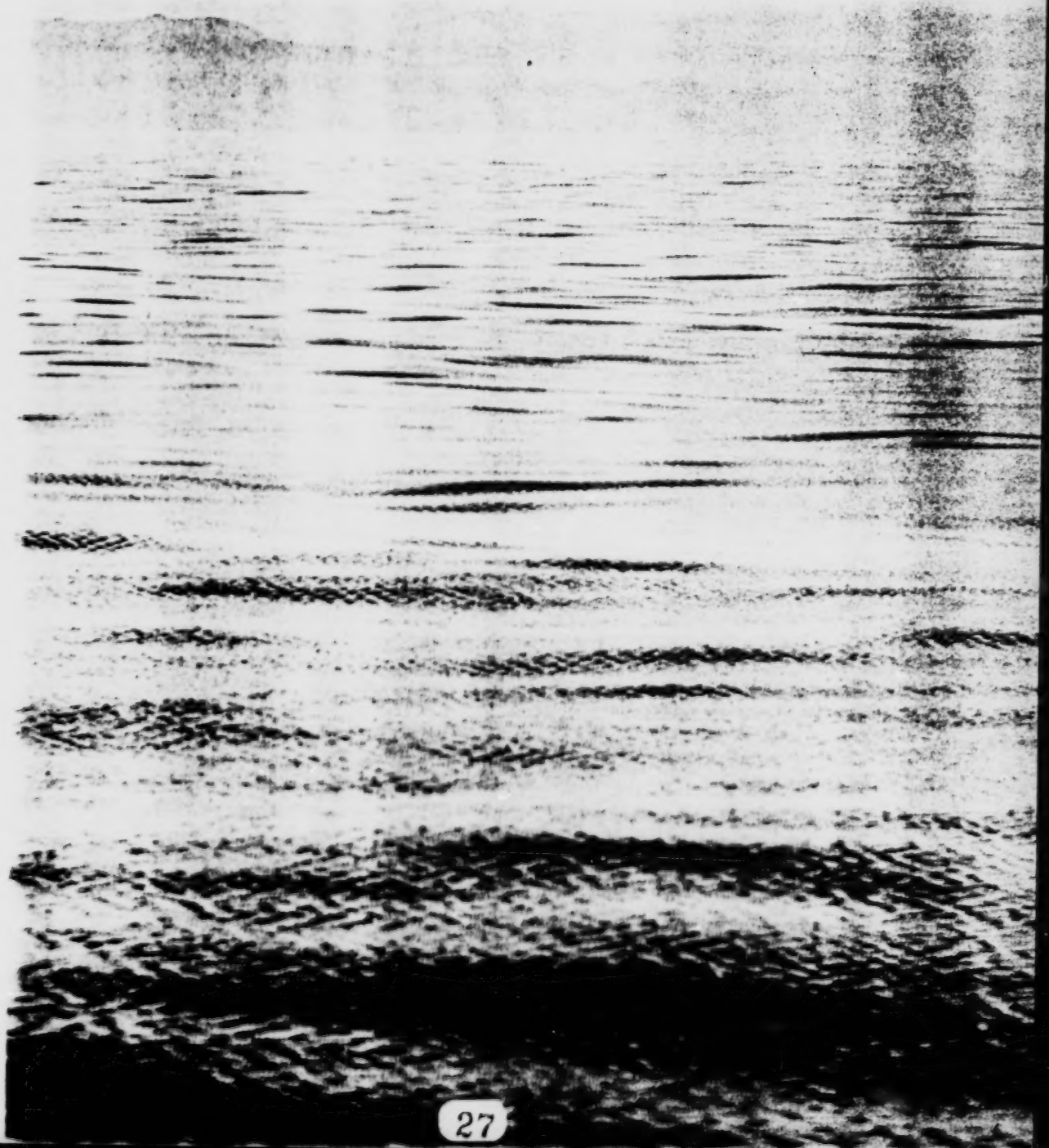
This book is an account of Greek migration to New Zealand, with interviews with a variety of families and generations. Each topic is given a brief introduction and the interviewees speak for themselves, discussing feelings of identity, belonging, language, the past and the future.

Interesting in itself, this study could also be a valuable stimulus for discussion and writing among similar groups. The Petone Settlers Museum has gone on to work with local schools, helping children to explore the early years of their community, and their grandparents' lives, in Petone or in other homelands.

Stories of Greek Journeys is bilingual in Greek and English, and illustrated with black and white photographs. It is available from the Petone Settlers Museum for $17.00.

MANY VOICES

A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues



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Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington

Before and After

by Cao Van Tot

Before I lived with my father
My brother, one sister
No mother
We were lonely
We were sad
We wanted her to come
For us to be together.

Now my mother
My sisters, my brother
Arehere!
The house is noisy
The children funny
There's crying and laughing
All the time!
When I come from school
I see them standing by the window
Laughing at me!
When I reach the door they run to me
"Pick me up! Pick me up!"

I'm happy
My life is full
And all the emptiness
Gone!

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Introduction

Tena koutou katoa.

This journal focuses on an aspect of life in New Zealand which covers a wide variety of situations, from new arrivals to minority ethnic groups who have been here for several generations. The celebration of diversity in New Zealand is now recognised and encouraged.

The terms we use for new learners of English reflect a change in this focus. ESL, English as a Second Language, was the accepted term in the 1970s and 1980s. It places an emphasis on the acquisition of English.

ESOL, English for Speakers of Other Languages, now in use, recognises that new learners of English already speak another language and may speak several. English is an addition to skills and knowledge already developed.

NESB, Non English Speaking Background, is used to describe learners, often New Zealand born, who may speak English as their first language, but whose parents speak another language. The degree of competence in the parents' language varies considerably.

Several other terms, common to discussion about education, occur frequently in this journal. One theme which runs through several articles is that of co-operation, in planning, in learning, and in teaching. Research described in Vin Glynn's article clearly shows the benefits of co-operation for students. Other articles discuss the benefits for teachers. Marilyn Lewis's article discusses curriculum design, at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. This a timely and practical review of a current and important topic.

Lita Foliaki's article looks at the wider issues of the child at home and at school. The articles in this journal are intended to stimulate discussion. They are the views of the writer, not Ministry policy. Readers are invited to submit articles to be considered for publication, in line with the objectives listed in the first issue. We welcome also student writing on the themes of the transition to a new life, or of adjustment, identity, and growing up in New Zealand.

Leith Wallace

Respecting the Silences: Recording the Lives of Immigrant Women

by Adrienne Jansen

This article is from a talk given about the writing of *I Have In My Arms Both Ways: life stories of ten immigrant women.*

About ten years ago, I spent a morning listening to a Cambodian woman who had arrived in New Zealand about a year before, telling me her story. She had led a rich life, materially as well as in other ways. Her husband had studied at the London School of Economics, and she had travelled with him through Europe. She was well-educated herself, and while she was bringing up her five children, she had taught French and mathematics to private students.

At the time that she spoke to me, she was living in a state house unit and working part-time as a cleaner (later she had an assembly line job in a factory for several years, from which she was eventually made redundant). Her second husband — her first husband and three of her children had died — was also working in a factory, although he had been a university student in Cambodia.

What I remember most about that morning, strangely enough, is not so much her story, but the fact that when she had said everything she felt able to say, she put her head down on her arms, and rocked backwards and forwards. She didn't weep, she didn't say anything more, she just rocked silently.

The sufferings of Cambodians during the Pol Pot regime have now been well documented, but the stories of women like her, who have resettled in other countries, who arrive stripped of everything that has defined them before, who suffer such loss of status and influence, both in society and within their own family — those stories are never told.

Out of that conversation, and many others like it, emerged the idea of encouraging some of those women, who are largely invisible within our society, to tell the remarkable stories of their lives, both in their first countries, and since coming to New Zealand.

Not all immigrant women, by any means, fall into that category. Many women come here, take the opportunities that this country can offer them, and do well in every respect. If I wanted to record the experiences of immigrant women, it would be important to spread the net fairly widely. But certainly my starting point would be those "invisible" women whose stories are never told.

But was it practicable to do a series of life stories of immigrant women? To ask any person to set out her life for public scrutiny is to ask a great deal: it is even more difficult if she is a member of a small community in a country that is not her own. Also, I wanted to talk to "ordinary" women, women who were not used to being in the public eye. And the silent rocking of that Cambodian woman had stayed in my mind. Was it possible to have women tell their stories, but at the same time respect the silences, the things that couldn't be said?

As it turned out, it wasn't difficult to find ten women who were prepared to take part. In selecting the women, I decided that it was more important to cover a range of experiences, than simply to represent the major immigrant groups: to include women with professional qualifications who are able to work in their former professions here, women who are not able to do so, and women who are unskilled; to include women who have come as refugees, and those who have chosen this country.

In addition to covering this cross-section of experience, I wanted to focus on women who had grown up in their first countries and had come to New Zealand as adults; women who have retained a strong sense of their first culture, but also have an understanding of New Zealand society.

There are women I greatly regretted not being able to include — hundreds of immigrant women have remarkable stories to tell, and hopefully many more will have the chance to tell them in future.

Of the ten women that I asked, one welcomed the opportunity, for she had been considering doing something similar for some time. For the rest, their reactions were a mixture of bemusement, uncertainty, and more than anything else, the feeling that "no one will be interested in my story". What encouraged everyone was the shared belief that, in fact, New Zealanders know very little about the experiences or situation of immigrant women in this country, and that this was perhaps one small way of bringing about some change.

It wasn't difficult for the women to speak very freely about themselves. We spent many hours taping material, generally over three or four sessions. For some, it was the first time they had ever spoken about some parts of their lives. For others, it was the first opportunity since coming to New Zealand to speak about experiences they had had in their first countries. Michelle Coudkova Karagianis had been living in Prague during the liberalisation of Czechoslovakia during the late 1960s, and the Russian occupation. She commented that she had never spoken about that in English before; no one had ever asked her

(in itself an interesting comment on the degree of interest New Zealanders often show in the past lives of immigrants).

Then we came to the point at which, transcript of tapes completed, draft of the story done, each woman and I then had to negotiate what could stay in and what had to be taken out. This was the most difficult part of the project, and sometimes the process of negotiation took as long as the taping of the material itself. But I had always known that this would be the case; that their right to have the last word on what could be included must be honoured, and that we would have to work within the constraints — personal, political, cultural — that are, in fact, a part of these women's lives. Those constraints in themselves say a great deal about the situation of these and other immigrant women in New Zealand.

First, there was the question of speaking about very personal matters. For all of us, there are parts of our lives which we would choose not to talk about publicly. But these difficulties are compounded when one is living in another country and in another culture.

No one demonstrated this more clearly than Kamla Patel, who is Indian, but grew up in Kenya. Kamla's situation is that of a number of immigrant women who come here and whose marriages break up under the pressures of the new environment. How can one describe the intensity of experience of a marriage break-up, made more acute by the difficulties of resettling in a new country, financial hardship, loneliness, lack of language, while at the same time one must observe a cultural reticence in talking of such things, and respect relationships which must go on in a small community? Furthermore, there were some things that had happened in her marriage that Kamla couldn't publicly talk about at all. As she said, that was because "I have no family here. If I had my family here, I would feel more secure and know that people would believe me. But I'm on my own, in a different country. So I can't talk about them."

But Kamla really wanted to tell her story. I really wanted her to. We agreed that we would go ahead, and if, at the end, we had been able to do it to the satisfaction of both of us, we would use it. If not, we would scrap it. Once it was finished, there was no doubt for either of us that we would use it. And in the process of working with Kamla, I had re-discovered what she (and other women in the book) know from years of experience — the strength that can come from being forced to speak or write within constraints, the ability to say without saying, the power of understatement — of which Kamla is a master — all these things which we have largely lost within our own culture and often no longer value, because we no longer have to exercise them. Her story illustrates the paradox of a book like this — that it is a book of intense emotions that often cannot be publicly expressed.

There was the obviously important question of respecting cultural conventions, e.g., the Pacific Island way of not publicly discussing sexual relationships, or sex education. No matter how freely Novena Petelo and I might talk together in private, there was the necessity to respect that convention. Novena is a strong maintainer of Tokelauan ways, and to force her to behave in a very un-Tokelauan way by including in her story inappropriate material, would be to seriously misrepresent her. The aim of any oral history must be to present that person, her personality, her style, her culture, as accurately as possible. In the end, it turned out to be not an issue, because both Novena Petelo, and Valeti Finau (who is Tongan) are so adept at saying just what they want to say, indirectly.

There was a different set of constraints in talking about political events. Very often, in the course of working on this book, I felt as though I was politically naive. I don't think I am particularly so, but I am in that I tend to take for granted the relative security and freedom of speech we enjoy in New Zealand. Many people coming to New Zealand from other countries simply don't enjoy that security and freedom. There are very long shadows, from other countries and from past events, which fall on people living here, and from which they will probably never be free. Sometimes it is simply not safe for people to say what they have done before. Some have relatives living in other countries in difficult circumstances and they know full well that what they say here may influence the situation of those relatives.

One of the women in the book was actively involved in political events in her own country about which she chose to say nothing. Former loyalties can provoke strong emotions and factionalism within small communities in countries of resettlement, and many people come to New Zealand specifically to get away from those things. It would be politically naive indeed to include that kind of information, knowing what the consequences can be.

One woman said to me, "You must understand that a government can be so bad, that you can never ever say how bad it is." That same woman commented that New Zealanders have a very simple view of politics, and that they just don't understand the subtleties and complexities of politics in other countries.

I was often reminded that people have very long memories. Allegiances, links, even minor involvement in events in Europe in the 1940s still have an influence on people who are living in

New Zealand now. I was also reminded that personal opinions and habits of mind change slowly, often more slowly than external structures. I asked the two Eastern European women whether, after all the changes that occurred in the latter half of 1989, it made any difference to what they had said . They said no, nothing had changed. Anna Marciszewski had left Poland primarily because of the economic situation which, she pointed out, will be a very long time in changing; and for Michelle Karagianis from Czechoslovakia, having lived for so long "thinking about whether you might say some dangerous word, or wondering who is sitting at the table with you", nothing was going to change overnight.

So many immigrant women I have met are reluctant to be openly critical of New Zealand that I wasn't surprised to find that same reticence in most, though not all, of these ten women. They would make some sharp and perceptive observation, then furiously backtrack from it. In the end I became unconcerned by that also, partly because their reticence is such an accurate reflection of many women in the same situation, and partly because their experiences in themselves tell so much about New Zealand society.

Someone recently said to me that she was struck by the fact that so many of the women in the book have found New Zealanders aloof, hard to get to know. That is a view that most of them share, yet probably only one of them would actually say such a thing directly. But they don't need to. Their stories speak for them.

As far as possible, each of the women set her own agenda; however, there were a number of issues I wanted to cover, one of which was their experience of racial affirmation and discrimination. I was somewhat surprised to find that, with this group of women, I felt more strongly about discrimination than they did. I am often made aware of discrimination, sometimes overt (like a neighbour we once had who turned his hose on a young Samoan girl who came onto his property collecting for the Crippled Children's Society) and often much less overt and patronising (like the Lao couple who escaped across the Mekong River into Thailand, and whose sponsors here did not want them to travel out of the city, because they might not cope with the trip!). I found that most of these women are quite aware of the discrimination that goes on, and yet are philosophical about it. They have developed their own, sometimes very funny, ways of coping with it.

As we worked on completing the book, I began to realize that the business of negotiating what had to come out was a far greater problem for me than it was for them. It wasn't as though we were taking out great chunks — a comment here, an event there, perhaps an explanation. There was one event, the departure from Vietnam of Ngàn Hac Tránh's eldest brother, for which we had to take out the explanation, for very good reasons. I said, "You can't leave in the event, without the explanation. People will say, 'But how did that come about, when he hadn't been able to leave before?' " Her response was, "It's quite obvious that the explanation is missing. You only have to read between the lines to understand why it is not there."

Even though I had known from the beginning that these constraints would apply, I was still giving away, painfully and reluctantly, the Western notion that it is better to "spell it out". It was not until the book was finished that I realized that the struggle had been largely mine, not theirs, that most of these women have grown up in cultures which value the thing unsaid, the ability to read between the lines; that the book is, I believe, much better because we have had to work within those limitations.

I worried throughout about what I was asking these women to do, the risks that I saw them taking. I talked about it often, far more than they did. In the end, I realized that I was making the same mistake that the book was intended to rectify in the first place; in my anxiety, I was seeing them as less than they are. They are all strong, independent, resilient women, who know what they are doing. The week that the book was launched, one of them said to me, "That's a very courageous thing that we have all done."

But another said, "We've all got far too serious. What we need is a good party!"

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What is the Curriculum for ESOL Learners?

by Marilyn Lewis

Marilyn Lewis is a senior lecturer for the Diploma in English Language Teaching, Auckland University. This paper was delivered at an in-service day for the Wellington Association of Teachers of ESOL, October 1991.

For the teacher of new speakers of English in New Zealand there seems to be no shortage of advice. There are shelves full of books with such titles as *Planning a language programme, English for specific purposes, Communicative syllabus design*, and of course many with the same title : *Course design*. Faced with such a supply of ideas, why should the teacher look further?

It seems to me, that despite the wealth of source material, the reality in New Zealand is that individual teachers still have to make decisions about the best course of study for particular learners for particular, but unclear, lengths of time. I am going to take three teaching situations, one at primary level, one in secondary schools, and one with adult learners. Although these three will be my case studies, the guidelines will, I hope, be easily transferable to other situations.

First, a question. Why is it, that after the teaching of English to speakers of other languages has been a going concern for about a quarter of a century, we haven't perfected the sort of course that could be published and used around this country, let alone internationally? Why do new titles keep running off the press? Is it really, as people sometimes cynically say, that people who are in the business of language have a vested interest in keeping on writing courses?

I think there is a finer reason. Despite all that is said about science subjects being open to new discoveries and arts subjects being a constant rehash of the same old themes, we are in fact constantly finding out more about the process of learning a new language at different stages of life. The combined disciplines of applied linguistics, sociology, education, and others are telling us more than we ever knew and we are using that knowledge to reconstruct our teaching, or, more importantly, the students' learning.

The books of the sixties, which carved language up into verb tenses and vocabulary topics, were replaced by those of the seventies, which presented functions and notions of language. By the eighties, communication was being stressed as a means as well as an end, at such a rate that writers and publishers ran out of titles. They started with words that said something about communication, such as *Keep Talking* and when those words had run out they got more and more imaginative: *Strategies, Kernel*, and *Breakaway*.

CURRENT ISSUES

Curriculum ownership

We can start to look for answers by taking a bird's eye view of current issues in second language course design worldwide. The first, which seems to me quite topical in 1991 New Zealand, is the issue of curriculum ownership. Who, in the hierarchy, feels that the curriculum is theirs? Is it the learners, the teachers, or the "authorities", at whatever level we mean that term?

Let's start with the learners. David Clarke, writing in *Applied Linguistics* earlier this year, spoke about the negotiated syllabus, whereby learners and their teacher work together to design a course appropriate to their needs. Teachers of adults, particularly when the class is small, have taken up that idea. Paul Nation and Jonathon Newton, at the English Language Institute, Victoria University, have designed a needs analysis which could be worked through between learners and their teachers, as a basis for planning a useful course.

Philosophically, it would be hard to argue against negotiation with adult learners. Secondary students withdrawn from regular classes for work with a specialist language teacher may also be well placed to mention aspects of learning that they would like further assistance with. Primary school teachers have found aspects of the negotiation process less easy to justify, although the idea of being guided in your planning by things the students appear to be having difficulty with is certainly a starting point.

The second party in the ownership debate can be the teacher. The argument put forward for maintaining a balance in the negotiation between learner and teacher input is that teachers have the experience and professional know-how to be aware of some things that need to be included in the course which learners are not even aware of. Caught between the pull of learner autonomy and suggestions from above and beyond for the course content, the teacher can well lose a sense of commitment to a course. My opinion, based on numbers of classroom visits and talks with teachers, is that for some ESOL teachers in New Zealand, the concern is not too much direction from above, but too little. Other teachers, of course, have the experience, knowledge, and qualifications to value their freedom in planning.

It could be interesting to swerve momentarily across the Tasman and look at some teacher concerns about curriculum ownership.

Bartlett (1990), writing in "Prospect", quotes

the Australian Committee of Review's 1986 comments "that plurality in curriculum ownership, in which each teacher and AMES Centre planned and taught many curricula without a common or coherent guiding framework, brought with it its own set of problems."

Eight factors were identified in their National Curriculum Project as influencing a sense of ownership by teachers. I will comment on two of them here.

"Curriculum ownership is greatest when teacher-participants are 'insiders' in a collaborative curriculum planning arrangement." What opportunities are there for teachers, with colleagues, either within or outside schools, to plan jointly a curriculum for ESOL learners at the age level they are working with? New Zealand teachers have traditionally been very good at 'ownership' of their courses, so good, in fact, that they would rather put in hours of their own time into planning a course for learners they see as having unique circumstances, than combine with others to plan a joint course.

The second point I'd like to draw out of Bartlett's article is this.

"Curriculum principles that allow flexible planning also create a sense of ownership for those who are to implement and enact the curriculum."

The words "flexible planning" remind me of the first word that often appears on planning documents: "towards". What happened to the 1988 document "Towards a Language Policy for Polytechnics in New Zealand?". The word "towards" has the positive implication of movement, of a step which will be followed by another step, and another. If the steps are taken co-operatively, they may lead to the kind of ownership that is talked about in relation to the curriculum.

Ask yourself where you stand in relation to curriculum ownership. Is your concern that you are having to teach a language curriculum in which you feel you have no stake, or is your concern that you have all the stake and you'd rather be given some guidelines?

Cultural content

So much for the issues of curriculum ownership. A second issue to be considered in the second language curriculum is the one of cultural content.

There is no such thing as culture-free language. The issue of cultural content in ESOL materials has been a concern for some time.

Adaskou, Britten, and Fahsi ("ELT Journal", Vol 44, No. 1), writing about design decisions on the cultural content of a secondary English course for Morocco, list ways in which teaching material can convey cultural content. The suggestions are worth noting too at the level of course design. They talk about four separate sorts of culture that language teaching may involve. First, there is what they call "culture with a capital C: the media, the cinema, music, and above all, literature". Second, there is "culture with a small c: the organisation and nature of family, home life, interpersonal relations, material conditions, work and leisure, customs and institutions." Then they speak of cultural features which "may differ... from one English-speaking country to another " and which "according to the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis, (condition) all our thoughts and thought processes". For instance, in this country, it's no use learning the language of talking on the telephone if you don't also know what times of the day and night would be too early and too late to ring people up.

They have a fourth category: the background knowledge, social, and paralinguistic skills that lead to successful communication. Examples of this category of culture would be such things as taboo avoidance, use of appropriate intonation patterns, and familiarity with the different genres of form-filling and advertisements.

There are some examples of cultural content in an article based on course planning in a Moroccan university (Bentahila and Davies 1989). These writers highlight the interweaving of linguistic and cultural knowledge, pointing out that, for instance, greetings and apologies differ from one culture to another, not only in their form, but even in the occasions on which greetings and apologies would or would not be appropriate. Another example they quote is common in cross-cultural occasions in this country, namely, the offering and accepting of food. Who asks guests whether they would like more food? Who puts more food on their plates anyway? As the authors say, "There is a tendency, particularly strong in monolingual, monocultural societies, to assume that one's own way of using language is the only way, and that such things as politeness strategies and discourse organisation are universal." If you include in your course a unit under the communicative heading "meeting and greeting", what do you intend that unit to include?

In New Zealand, the question of cultural aspects of learning is being addressed more and more frequently in the context of Maori education. Some of the statements made by Linda Smith (1991) in her recent article "A curriculum for education — not assimilation" could well be read in the context of work with new arrivals to New Zealand. "I believe that they (Maori children) have to be assured that they are indeed part of the world and not marginalised spectators to the development of others."

The question is not whether culture should be a component of a language course but, rather, what cultural messages are there without the teacher's

being aware of them? How much of the content of ESOL texts should be reflecting the learners' culture and how much the culture of the target language?

The field of sociolinguistics, the study of language in relation to society, which developed as a separate discipline in the late 60s and early 70s, is of particular interest to second language teachers. Gail Robinson (1985) starts her sessions with a question for each teacher, "What does culture mean to you?" The teachers' answers are listed under three headings: ideas, behaviours, and products. As questions, these headings could become a useful filter for course design. What ideas, what behaviours, and what outcomes are implicit in the course being put together?

Influences on course design

A third issue in course design is the influence that is brought to bear on a course by various, and sometimes conflicting, elements. Some courses bear very strongly the imprint of the individual teacher. Others reflect the philosophy of the institution. A course will also be influenced by national and international trends. The course designer needs to be aware of what the influences are.

In order to illustrate some of the possible influences on course design, I'll introduce now three examples of ESOL teachers currently working in Auckland. Their personal beliefs about how languages are learned are the greatest influence on their course design, as it usually is when people are given a free rein with a particular group of students.

The first teacher works in a primary school. She is given children who have been in New Zealand for only a couple of years or less for about an hour at a time, in groups of four or five. How does she decide what to do? Her starting point is her own experience. This is the second country in which she has worked in multilingual classrooms and experience tells her one or two things about what could usefully be included in a language programme. Believing that one of the needs of children is to have the confidence to start talking with as much language as they have so far, she spends some of the lesson time on activities that build this confidence. This involves waiting while the right word is found and providing the sort of stimulus that makes a child want to speak.

Her second source of material for planning the course is provided by work coming up soon in the children's regular classes. If the rest of the class is about to study myths and legends, then she will do a similar unit of work with them ahead of time, so that they have enough vocabulary to take part in class discussion.

The next teacher I describe works in a secondary school. Because the students sent to his room once a week come from several different classes studying a range of subjects, he cannot find a common theme and plans his lessons around curriculum areas which can be easily illustrated. He is working at the idea of introducing the students to ways of working in senior classes in New Zealand schools, where individual reading is valued and the emphasis is on interpreting new ideas rather than memorising information. He is aware of the demands of the sort of tertiary study these students are preparing for and knows that these will not necessarily be the same demands as they would have faced if they had remained in their own countries.

The third teacher is working with adult learners in a community class where learners come for a couple of hours once a week. There is no prescribed course provided and there are no demands by other teachers to be considered. The students are the usual range of age, nationality, and focus that we are familiar with amongst adult learners. Designing the course is entirely this teacher's responsibility.

What are her options? She could use a course already designed by someone else, perhaps in the form of a text book; she could design some sort of negotiated syllabus with the learners' co-operation; she could put together a course outline based on some of her beliefs about how languages are learned. She has tended to go for this third option. For instance, her belief that communication includes the written form, and that writing improves through a combination of practice and receiving feedback on one's work, leads her to carry on a weekly correspondence between classes with the students. They bring a piece of writing to each class. She takes them away and posts out a response to each person each week. The other form of communication is spoken. Each lesson includes some form of small group discussion arising either from the news or from events in the students' lives.

Each of these teachers has had a different basis for designing a course but all of them had their own input as the only influence. That's one option. Let's now return to the idea of a course being influenced by the philosophy of an institution. Many schools now have philosophies. The words "charter" and "mission statement" are used in places as different as educational institutions and McDonald's. If your school is putting together or revising a philosophy then you have the chance to be part of the process, because the course you design needs to measure up to that philosophy.

One possible philosophy for ESOL classes in New Zealand is similar to the Australian Adult Migrant Education Programme's, which sets out to provide "courses and learning arrangements based on a learner-centred, needs-based approach to

curriculum." (Hyde and Power, 1987). They then spell out details. For instance, the learner-based philosophy means that "as adults, students should be given the opportunity to become actively involved in choosing what and how they will learn". For them, that includes being involved in needs assessment and programme evaluation, two aspects of the course design process that I haven't emphasised. An example of course evaluation in migrant education here is Man Hau Liev's and Keryn McDermott's work at the Mangere Reception Centre.

A similar document for New Zealand polytechnics, (undated, but probably 1988) is the one I mentioned earlier. It sets out the same ideas in the form of principles. For example, "It is important to provide and monitor language courses to meet the changing needs of people and groups in the wider community. In practice, people should be able to plan, pursue, and complete courses in such a way that they achieve personal, cultural, economic, and social justice goals."

So far we have considered philosophies written within the education system. However, there are others who have a stake in what happens too. In the case of young children, it is the parents and communities they belong to. For adults, the interested parties could include potential employers. Indeed, messages in the Planning Council's 1991 document "Curriculum: Core or Corset", with contributions from the community and business world, makes interesting reading and is a reminder that teachers are not the only people willing to take time to think and to write about issues in education. The article "Service and Interpersonal Skills" by Cheryl McCleay makes thoughtful reading. I have already referred to Linda Smith's article in the same book.

Syllabus design and methodology

We have looked at three cameos of teaching in New Zealand. The teacher might well ask which of the three models described comes closest to the ideal. I'll backtrack now and look at some implications of each of the teaching situations, with special reference to different kinds of learners, starting with the most visibly diverse group, adult learners. What are the implications for course design of being faced with a group of learners who, on day one, appear to have no more in common than their wish to learn English? Even the English they have in mind is not the same.

If we believe that course design involves not only what is to be learned, but also the means by which learning will take place, then the current emphasis on learning styles needs greater attention before we reach the stage of lesson planning.

Geoff Brindley in *Options in Teaching English to Adult Speakers of Other Languages* summarises some current concerns about tension between syllabus design and methodology. He says, "Many of the problems associated with functional notional syllabuses are attributable to a fundamental tension between syllabus design and methodology. Often there is no clear link between the two".

PARTICULAR SITUATIONS

Redesigning a course

For many teachers the task is not so much design as redesign. They have inherited a course outline, a text book, or a set of materials which, for whatever reason (often their own boredom), they want to redesign. And why not? To return to the issue of course ownership, if the teacher, as a start, feels enthusiastic about the course they have redesigned, some enthusiasm may flow on to the learners.

Co-operative course design

We have already considered the issue of the negotiated syllabus, in which teachers and learners together plan the track. Let's consider now the other sort of co-operation, namely co-operation between staff. Many ESOL teachers in schools are working in considerable isolation. As I illustrated in two of the case studies, they may have students sent by teachers who feel inadequate to deal with them in larger classes but who do not have the time to do much co-operative planning with the ESOL teacher.

Cecilia Lai, speaking about the English syllabus in Hong Kong schools ("Perspectives,"1991), has set out some criteria for "good" language learning tasks that could be the basis of some co-operative planning by teachers working in withdrawal situations, as well as with large classes. Of the ten points she makes, I'll mention just three: authenticity, meaningfulness, and co-operation, and I would add the rider that they should be all of these things in the learners' eyes, not just the teacher's.

Implementing a new course

For teachers such as the three whose work I referred to earlier, implementing a course is the least of their problems. As long as all is going smoothly, colleagues are so relieved to have the students purposefully occupied that the course content will never be questioned. Let's turn now to a different situation, the one where a course has been designed but not yet adopted. Brindley and Hood suggest questions for which we can try and find answers.

"Once curriculum guidelines or materials have been produced, how (if at all) are they adopted?

Why do teachers embrace some innovations and not others? What role do institutional factors play in the adoption of innovation? What factors favour and inhibit curriculum innovation? How do people deal with the changes that innovation brings?"

One of the guiding principles they spell out from their experience of implementing curriculum change in the AMEP struck me quite forcefully. "Rational argument alone will not bring about change." I thought of teachers returning from in-service courses fired with enthusiasm for some ideas such as reshaping an existing course, to be faced with non-co-operation, in its various forms, from colleagues. All the rational persuasiveness in the world fails to make a difference. That leads to their next principle: "Individuals need to experience the change personally". Remember they are talking about a country like ours, where teachers value their right to dissent. Their words have a familiar ring. "Even if the innovation is perceived to have demonstrable benefits, it may still have to compete with other changes and other responsibilities which confront teachers at any one time."

If change is so difficult, how does it ever come about? If I reflect on examples I have observed, some of the factors would be individual enthusiasm, pressure from peers, and, of course, some form of compulsion.

EXAMPLES OF COURSES

Let's consider now specific courses that particular learners could benefit from. I'll return to the three teachers in the case studies and make suggestions for alternatives to the courses they are currently running. These suggestions are not necessarily better than the current arrangements; they are other options, because a starting point to course design can often be brainstorming the many options available, one of which will be selected.

Vocabulary development

First, let's think of options for the ESOL teacher who works with small numbers of primary students withdrawn from classes. She could work on a systematic programme of vocabulary development. This could be linked with current interest topics in the classes they are a part of for most of the week. It could be supplemented from other sources, such as the children's previous learning and book language from the many readable books available already in the school. The children could "collect" the words in various ways and be encouraged to start using them orally and in their writing. Vocabulary enrichment programmes support what we know about the gaps between first and second language proficiency.

Written English

A second option for this teacher could be a writing programme to supplement the writing already done in the classes from which they come. At this point, we return to the philosophical basis for course design. The classroom teacher and the ESOL teacher will need to find common ground in their approach to writing, if they are to support each other's work. Wales, describing the distinctions between the process writing, genre writing and language experience approaches to writing, reminds us that "all three approaches have their enthusiasts amongst ESL specialists" *(English as a Second Language in Schools)*. There are those who see the process writing approach as having strong links with communicative language learning and its emphasis on intention rather than form. For others, the genre approach sits very comfortably with the idea of mastering various registers in a new language, while for a third group of teachers the language experience approach, with its shared production of written language, gives new speakers of English a chance to share new experiences with their classmates. Of course a programme may, as Lynn Wales points out, be deliberately eclectic.

English for specific purposes

What are the options open to the secondary school teacher? Given that his students are at the fifth form level, he could plan an English for Specific Purposes course with a focus on a skill, such as writing assignments or using source books effectively. This could involve liaising with particular subject teachers to prepare material to be used later with all students in the class. I have found, time and time again, that teachers will look at material prepared for ESOL learners and say, "There are other students in the class who could benefit from that." In fact, one encouraging move in second language teacher education is for teachers of subjects other than English to take TESOL courses to add to their existing skills and qualifications the ability to work more effectively with new speakers of English.

I will outline how an ESOL teacher can work with other subject teachers to design an effective course. Three ways I have found effective in my own work have been these.

First, there is the ESOL teacher who can work within existing course outlines to design materials which assist not only second language learners, but all students who would benefit from handouts that attend to the language aspects of learning. This is a rewarding role for ESOL tutors in schools and in technical institutes and, in fact, has the potential to create ripples that go on and on. When teachers can see that materials can be made up that simultaneously attend to better learning of the subject and better spoken and

written communication, they are likely to ask for more. We need to be modest about this role. It is not that an ESOL teacher walks with a lamp through the corridors lighting up the poor teaching of colleagues. The process is two-way. I have found it intensely rewarding to be involved in subjects which would once have seemed beyond my capabilities, as I work with teachers who in turn teach me.

A second source of work for the ESOL teacher is as "interpreter" in existing classes. This is a role that is needed at the early stages. In some cases the interpreting is from English to the learners' language; in other cases it is from English to English, putting the teacher's words into simple English without simplifying the ideas. It's the sort of skill you practise every time you are asked a difficult question by a bright eight-year-old to whom you want to give an honest but clear answer.

The third role is in team-teaching between an ESOL teacher and a subject teacher. I have done this with a class of electrical apprentices who were coming back for a two-day preparation course before resitting their trades exam. What was required was someone to take them through the questions, showing them how to interpret the wording and how to express their own answer. There were three of us in the room, two of whom knew all about electricity and one who had had some practice at analysing examinations. As we went through the session, using material we had prepared jointly beforehand, the students and teachers needed to stop me now and then because I failed to appreciate the meaning of some term. Similarly, the other teachers were able to see from my explanations that what had seemed to them a perfectly clearly worded question could be open to ambiguity.

English for academic purposes

Then, there is the teacher of adult classes. Here the choices are even wider. Unless the students are preparing for a particular examination, the choices for the course are enormous. It is easier to suggest guidelines than details, but here are some options. There is the whole range of courses broadly labelled English for Academic Study, which are designed to prepare students for existing courses in polytechnics or universities. Some of these can be very specific. Teachers are preparing students to pass the oral examination run by the Medical Council for overseas-trained doctors. A summer course prepares overseas geothermal students for their year's study.

CONCLUSION

What decisions need to be made ?

I have tried to make suggestions in the form of a set of choices. Sometimes the reason for choosing a particular curriculum is fashion, at other times it is the availability of materials. In New Zealand at the moment there is a wealth of course materials available. People talk a lot about preparing students for life. My immediate response is, "What life?". The classroom is a part of life; so is the workplace; so is the home, the sports field, the hospital, or wherever else people spend their time. The choices you make about course content have something to do with today's life and something to do with tomorrow's. Whatever the ostensible curriculum, remember that there will be many hidden aspects as well. Whenever a student can end a class saying not just, "I learned such and such today," but also, "and I learned a lot about learning", then the ESOL teacher has let go of the reins in recognition of the fact that the person being led is no longer a toddler.

A full bibliography of the references within this article is available from the editor.

The Status of English for Speakers of Other Languages in NZ Secondary Schools

by Olive Lawson.

This article gives the author's observations, based on several years in the field. At a time of considerable changes to teachers' terms and conditions of service it raises some important issues for discussion.

For too many years ESOL has had little or no status in secondary schools in New Zealand. There are few or no Position of Responsibility Units allocated to ESOL, often no voice at Head of Department (HOD) meetings, and far too frequently, little of the ear of the principal. In many schools, ESOL is taught by part-time women teachers (the lowest in status of all teachers) and many of these are without genuine ESOL qualifications or experience. "She's primary trained and already does the remedial reading," is the attitude of many principals as they allocate their ESOL hours.

Attitudes toward ESOL students themselves may be less than sympathetic. They have been regarded as "dumb", as remedial readers, special needs, or a "problem". The sooner they merged

with pakeha students, spoke like them, and appeared to be learning, the better.

I returned to New Zealand in 1984, after several years in Asia, to a school that was at that time at least 30% ESOL. I was hired to assist the part-time ESOL/remedial reading teacher. I had eight hours ESOL and she, once the reading was taken out, probably about seven or eight. Our room was a "broom cupboard" under the stairs, but we were immensely proud of the carpet that it boasted. Teaching organisation was entirely withdrawal. Students who needed help were pulled from their regular social studies or English classes and taught in our "broom cupboard" in cramped conditions.

I am sure this scenario will be familiar to many teachers at this time or in the not too distant past, who are or have been struggling to teach ESOL in conditions that are far from satisfactory, with hours and resources that are far from adequate, a timetable that is totally unsatisfactory, and with no status or power in the hierarchy of the secondary school system.

Seven years on, I am proud to say that there have been great changes within our school and the "English Laboratory" where we now teach, still boasting a carpet, is well-resourced, well-staffed, and regarded as an equal alongside core disciplines such as English, mathematics, and science. This change was not achieved overnight, but came about gradually.

High standards of professionalism should be sought by all teachers, but for ESOL teachers, a new and somewhat "suspect" breed, it is even more important. ESOL teachers must strive to be regarded as credible by colleagues. Teaching small groups of students may be regarded as an easy option. How could it be as difficult as a class of thirty? How could ESOL work be demanding or intellectually satisfying? There is no syllabus to complete, no assessments to be made, no final examinations, and the students appear to be learning at a very basic level. In the face of this the ESOL teacher must be doubly effective.

Being efficient, organised, and prepared is always noticed in schools. Making a point of mixing with staff in all areas of the curriculum, listening to their concerns about ESOL students and teaching methodology, and offering some gentle reassurance or practical assistance, no matter how small, are all positive steps towards establishing credibility. Keeping the door of the ESOL room open, with a friendly invitation to all staff and in particular to the principal, to come in at any time, is always appreciated.

Taking mainstream classes, as well as small groups, is important for the ESOL teacher. This establishes credibility with colleagues and with the students. It also links the ESOL teacher firmly into the "real world" of the school.

Over the years, I have run short courses for different departments within the school, spoken to the board of trustees about the importance of ESOL and the role of ESOL teachers in the school, arranged for experts in the ESOL field to come in on teacher only days and run workshops, and held short training courses for new staff. Year One teachers are always receptive to learning about ESOL students and teaching methodology. I always ensure I have the opportunity to invite them into the English laboratory in the first few weeks of the year and offer assistance and a few guidelines. Our staff handbook contains a page written by the ESOL department entitled: "Tips for teaching ESOL students in mainstream classes."

Every year, I obtain from the principal the exact figures of the different ethnic groups in the school and present this information to the staff. The effect of these figures is surprising. Often our perceptions of the composition of the school are completely changed. The Assistant Principal from a neighbouring school told me recently that they had just completed this exercise and found to their surprise that their school, which for years they had perceived as a middle-class pakeha school with a few Polynesians thrown in, was nearly 30% other ethnic groups. The public knowledge of such information alerts staff to the fact that ESOL is not just confined to two or three students in one or two classes but is school-wide, and therefore something that the whole school must address.

It takes many years to break down the idea that the ESOL teacher is not a remedial reading teacher if, in the past, the two have been linked. As every trained, qualified ESOL teacher will tell you, there is a vast difference and the two should never be mixed. Separation may be a struggle but it is one well worth persevering over.

Another problem may be the practice of dumping students with the ESOL teacher who are not genuinely ESOL-needy, but rather have behaviour problems. Disruptive students, who technically may be defined as ESOL, can be removed from the mainstream class to the ESOL teacher, thus making life in the classroom easier for the mainstream teacher. This uses up the valuable time of the ESOL teacher that could be spent more wisely elsewhere. It takes courage and personal conviction to say and keep on saying that one will not teach these students.

The physical size of the ESOL room (or broom cupboard) may not be the only problem associated with the room. Some years ago, when I asked my mainstream fifth form students to deliver their late assignments to me in the ESOL room, they refused, saying they didn't want to be seen going into "that room where the dumb kids go". Such a stigma can only be detrimental and positive ways

of overcoming this must be found. Today, our "English laboratory" is so interesting, warm, attractive, and comfortable that all students want to come in and look, read, browse, or stay. Many a day we have had to lock the door to keep them out.

One can never underestimate the power of the principal in a secondary school. I am lucky that I have a principal committed to high academic standards and to all students achieving their potential. Without language and the strategies to take responsibility for their own learning, ESOL students can all too often let lessons wash over them and derive little real meaning and true learning from a day at school. Employing staff who are experienced, trained, and qualified (not all of them part-time women employees) has both raised the status of the ESOL Department and enhanced the learning of countless students in our school. The principal takes care that many of the larger ethnic groups within the school are represented on the staff and that these teachers have counselling time for the particular problems of ESOL students. Having a supportive, caring principal is probably one of the most significant factors for establishing a viable, forward-looking ESOL Department.

The number of ESOL students in New Zealand today is growing. ESOL specialists can no longer be ignored or swept back into the broom cupboard. It's time we came out, moved up the hierarchical ladder, and across the school into every area of the curriculum, and took our place alongside every major discipline in the school.

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Peer Tutoring Bilingual Children in a Co-operative Learning Classroom

by Vin Glynn

Peer tutoring is practised in many schools in various ways. This article outlines one way of bringing the benefits into the classroom. Teachers will find the classroom situation described familiar, especially the comments about interruptions.

This research arose out of three years work with peer tutors in Dunedin. We found that although peer tutoring is successful for senior primary school children who belong to a cultural minority, it is not ideal in a withdrawal situation. Children who have been trained to work together are often left without the support they need to be effective when they return to the classroom. The class teacher does not always have time to involve herself in the special programme, so the class programme often supplants it and the training is wasted.

We therefore decided to work directly in the classroom, with the class teacher, to make the classroom itself a more appropriate place for children to help each other. This time, instead of changing the fish to suit the water, we tried to change the water to suit the fish!

The new project was carried out in an inner-city school in Birmingham, England, where 95% of the children were bilingual. Cultural groups within the class are given in Table 1. All — including the white English children — had learning difficulties, and were performing below the national norm, but the ESL teacher identified four children who had the most serious problems with communication: two Afro-Carribean (Martin and Linton), one Vietnamese (Quang), and one Pakistani (Rajinder), and these became the focus for the study.

Table 1 — Cultural Affiliations

Pakistani/Indian	22
Bengali	2
Afro-Carribean	4
Vietnamese	1
White English	2
Class Total	31

Our specific aims were to analyse teacher behaviour, and the seating arrangement in the classroom and to modify the teacher behaviour, the seating arrangement, and the programme, to make them more appropriate for child/teacher and child/child interaction between all children; but especially for the four children who had been identified as having the most serious problems.

The study was designed to begin with seven days providing a baseline, where eight children (including the four most in need, and four "average" children) and the teacher were observed, without making any changes. Observations were at ten second intervals in random order. The school's ESL teacher also observed, to provide a reliability check. Correlation between observers had a reliability of 95%.

After seven days, we discussed the results fully with the teacher and she was asked to change her behaviour to encourage interaction. Seating was rearranged to facilitate better communication, and the new programme was introduced.

The seating arrangements turned out to be quite important. Todd-Mancillas *(Communication in the Classroom)* discusses seating arrangements in the classroom as significant factors in classroom

interaction. Whether the lesson is designed as a group activity or not, children seated in groups tend to interact with each other, more than children seated apart from each other, or in rows.

If children are allowed to choose their own seating, it is to be expected that the most popular children will be located in — or will even generate — highly interactive zones. On the other hand, very quiet children, isolates, and disadvantaged children will find themselves — or even choose — low interactive zones. Those who desire interaction with the teacher will choose seats near the front or in a "high teacher frequency zone": near where the teacher most often walks or stands. It is unfortunately all too common to find children for whom English is a second language, and children with other special needs, down the back or in corners. But for these children, it is very important that they be seated in a zone of high teacher frequency, and with children who will interact sympathetically.

In our Birmingham classroom, one of our "target" children, Linton, was seated in an extremely inaccessible corner, away from the teacher frequency zone, with three other children who were not very sympathetic. They worked, and he didn't, and they ignored him.

The teacher regularly called him over to work at the spare place at the central table, where she had seated two of the other "target" children together. This was an area of high teacher frequency: she very often worked with this group. But these vulnerable children were not very well able to help each other: two were often away in a withdrawal room getting extra support, and it was common for the one remaining child to be working alone while a great deal of social exchange was taking place amongst the other children. Quang, one of our target children, often chose to seat himself alone, at the teacher's empty table, even when the activity was designed to be performed in pairs, and the teacher was elsewhere.

Our programme was designed to overcome these problems. We seated the target children each in a different group, with a partner selected on the basis of friendship or compatibility, and the teacher asked the partner to "look after them".

The second strategy was to design a series of lessons which required children to interact with each other. We chose written expression, as a subject which was essentially about communication. Children worked in pairs. Instead of writing about "My self, my family, and what I like", topics were "My partner, my partner's family, and what my partner likes". Thus children could not complete the given task without interacting with each other. The immediate objective was to get them talking and listening to each other, but it was hoped that they would become interested in each other, and new friendships would have a chance to grow. Children read each other's written work (about themselves) and commented on it. The interactive lesson took place during the usual written expression time and, apart from permanent changes to seating, the teacher was requested to carry on the rest of the class programme unchanged.

The teacher's behaviour was classified under three categories, in terms of interaction: giving instructions, looking at and listening to children, and interacting (where interacting involved a two-way exchange). As soon as we began we found a need for a fourth category, interruptions. Interruptions occurred when a teacher, parent, or child from another class came requiring the teacher's attention.

After the seven baseline days, the results of the observations were discussed with the teacher, and she was requested to give more time to interaction and to listening to the children or looking at what they were doing, and less time to giving instructions to the whole class and to interruptions.

We discussed the best strategies for achieving this. Interruptions could be reduced by asking teachers to send children in with messages at the beginning or end of lessons, and not during class time. Also, once the teacher was aware of the problem, she could try to reduce the time taken for each interruption. Instruction time could be reduced by planning ahead what was to be said, and by preparing written handouts for the children to work from.

Interaction was found to be best when the teacher engaged individuals or groups, so that those children not involved in the group could interact with each other. The teacher was also shown how to "stand back" from the class, look quietly to see whether individual children were profitably engaged, and decide where she could most usefully interact. This was a major change from the previous routine of dealing with each situation as it came up, regardless of what else as going on in the class.

Results

Table 2 shows the changes the teacher was able to achieve in her behaviour, as recorded in daily observations, as during baseline. It can be seen that the main changes were in successfully reducing instructions by half, and increasing listening and looking fourfold. Interactions were increased slightly, but it was observed that instead of dealing with a large number of children in rapid succession, the teacher now dealt with fewer children in more depth.

Table 2 — Modification of Teacher Behaviour. (Avg. % of Observations)

	Baseline	Treatment
Interruptions	9	10
Instructions	31	15
Interactions	56	59
Listening	4	16

Diary notes show what happened as the teacher became more aware of individual needs.
The teacher:

- negotiated with the special needs teacher for Martin to spend less time in withdrawal, and she spent considerable time with Martin's mother on day fourteen;
- negotiated with Maruf to spend some of his time supporting Linton;
- negotiated with the girls at Rajinder's table about seating, instead of sending them out to settle their squabbles, as she had done during baseline;
- began to suspect that another child, Sarah, might have a hearing problem, and arranged for assessment;
- identified strengths and weaknesses of social relationships between children, and assisted where appropriate;
- became aware that she was spending a great deal of time spelling words for children, so she devised a system to make children more independent in using dictionaries.

The teacher was not able to reduce interruptions which, in fact, increased minimally. However, there were two days, four and fourteen, when the exceptionally high amount of time spent on interruptions can be explained. On day four, the social worker concerned with Martin, one of the target children, came unexpectedly to see the teacher during class time. On day fourteen she came again, bringing Martin's mother, who spent the whole period in the classroom with the teacher. Results for other days, ignoring days four and fourteen, give a mean of 6% for baseline and 5% for treatment, a slight reduction.

What effect did the changes have on the children? The object had been to get them interacting more and to be more on task.

Table 3 shows the percentage of occasions when children were observed to be interacting. Children interacted more overall during treatment, as this was required by the programme. Regardless of the subject matter of the lesson, this meant they had more chance to practise communication skills. But were they on task, or just enjoying a chance to chatter? It can be seen that their on-task interaction increased during treatment. Note particularly the tenfold increase for Quang, and a four-fold increase for Martin. In fact, every observed child increased both total interaction and interaction on-task.

Table 3 — Student-Student Interactions (% of Observations)

	TOTAL		ON-TASK	
	Base	Treat	Base	Treat
Quang	24	46	3	32
Martin	21	42	7	28
Linton	14	30	8	29
Rajinder	36	52	20	31
Akvinder	18	32	12	27
Rajdeep	32	39	24	32
Sukhjit	37	55	26	43
Deepak	43	57	20	33

There were occasions when children could be expected to be writing quietly, after they had obtained the information they wanted from their partner. So did they increase their on-task behaviour overall (individual plus interactive work)? Table 4 shows what happened here. Note particularly the change in Martin.

Table 4 — On-Task Behaviour (% of Observations)

	Base	Treat		Base	Treat
Quang	44	89	Akvinder	61	85
Martin	17	74	Rajkeep	79	84
Linton	42	78	Sukhjit	61	77
Rajinder	63	73	Deepak	58	76
	—	—		—	—
Mean %	42	79	Mean %	65	81

Other interesting qualitative changes in the behaviour of the children were observed during baseline and treatment. During baseline, most children worked well at individually assigned tasks, but did not give full attention where the teacher addressed the whole class. They often continued writing or talking when the teacher called for attention. Some were slow to finish off at the end of the lesson, others got into mischief, or disturbed other children when they had finished, because they had not been given a set task to do.

During treatment, the class seemed quieter. The teacher reported that the children seemed calmer (and that she was herself). Children came in more quickly after intervals. They attended more quickly when the teacher addressed the whole class. These changes are likely to have resulted from changes in teacher behaviour.

Children volunteered that they liked the work. They appeared to smile more than they had during baseline. Off-task behaviour changed. During baseline, off-task behaviour was being absent, staring into space, or fiddling with a pencil or ruler. During treatment, off-task behaviour was more often talking to other children who were not their partners, or talking about something other than the work. These changes may have related to changes in seating,

and to changes in the set task — the requirement that the children work in pairs.

There was marked change in the behaviour of the two children identified as having the most problems.

Martin's unauthorised absences from class decreased, and he was observed to be more on task in class. During baseline, he sucked his thumb for 43% of observations, but during treatment this dropped to 23%. His playground behaviour improved. His mother reported spontaneously to the teacher that she was pleased with changes in his behaviour at home, and she attributed this to changes at school. She was pleasantly surprised by the amount of work she saw him doing when she visited the school.

There were also dramatic changes in Quang. He was put next to a sympathetic partner, an intelligent, hardworking boy who was rather quiet, but prepared to help. Quang immediately settled down to steady work, no longer tried to find a place alone, and stopped absenting himself. Having been moved from a zone of high teacher interaction to a corner seat, he interacted less with the teacher, but considerably more with his peers. He laughed and chattered during the interaction lesson, and consulted his partner for assistance, which was freely offered.

It can be suggested from the data that Akvinder is more like the model of a child needing extra support, if the measure is a level of interaction (see Table 3). It seems that teachers are less likely to identify low-interactive children than high-interactive children for special support. Yet it is more typical of minority culture children to be low-interactive. Teachers need to be made aware of the need to look out for this problem.

In any event, all children were helped by the programme, suggesting that an interactive classroom is highly appropriate for a wide range of children. Our approach was threefold: careful attention to seating, a programme which was itself designed to be interactive, and modifying the teacher's behaviour to give the children more chance to interact. No attempt is made here to isolate these variables, because it was believed that all three were essential.

Future research could deal with any of the three variables as a separate issue, and it would be interesting to measure the relative effects. Some interesting qualitative changes were observed in children's behaviour: better classroom control arising from teacher behaviour when she wanted the class to attend; better performance when children were "managed" at the end of the lesson during finishing off time; and improvements in the speed at which they came in after intervals. All these factors resulted in children having more time available for learning. An examination of these variables would be interesting in any classroom, but particularly with vulnerable children who have English as their second language.

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The Migrant Child

by Lita Foliaki

This paper was delivered in July 1991 as part of the Auckland University Winter Lecture Series on "The Status of Children in Our Society".

In thinking about this topic it very quickly became clear to me that one cannot consider the migrant child without considering the migrant parents. In fact the fate of the child is to a large extent dependent on the parents. Therefore I will look at four main areas.

- The expectations of the migrant parent which the migrant child is expected to live up to.
- The ability of the migrant parent to support the child in the new environment.
- The willingness and/or ability of the host society to support the migrant parent and child.
- The attempt of the migrant community itself to support the parent and child.

Aspirations of the Migrant Pacific Islands Parent

Polynesian societies are hierarchical and the most hierarchical of them all is Tonga. I am Tongan and my impressions are related to Tonga but some will be generally true of other Polynesian people.

In Polynesian societies, traditionally one's rank was determined at birth and there was very little room for social mobility, especially upward mobility.

Until very recently, say in the last ten to twenty years, Tongan people saw the hierarchy as the natural order, and accepted and were secure with their place within that hierarchy. They did not see the ranking of society as something that needed to be changed. Social equality was not seen as a better way of organising society.

When western education was introduced by the missionaries, and in Tonga the first two schools were established in 1829, one of its effects, perhaps unforeseen, was the introduction of a system of assessing people, another a system of ranking people not related to position of birth.

In Tonga the commoners accept the fact that

they cannot be chiefs and are quite satisfied with that. However, they are quite concerned about improving their rank in relation to other commoners. Western education became one of the ways, and the most important way, in which a commoner could improve their rank.

Even though a person born a commoner can never become a chief, as I have said, commoners with education can become Cabinet Ministers. In the hierarchical system of Tonga, a different set of words are used for the three different levels in society. The "chiefly" language is used for the commoners who are cabinet ministers while they are ministers. Of the four Cabinet Ministers in Tonga who are commoners, one has a PhD and attended Harvard University and Cambridge, one has a Masters degree from London School of Economics, one is a graduate of Otago Medical School, and one is a law graduate from Auckland University. They are referred to as "Eiki Minisita" or "Noble Ministers". So one can become "almost a chief" through high academic achievement. The leaders of the public service, the professional people, are commoners with university degrees. So access to political power and influence has been through education.

University graduates are seen and are described as "tangata/fefine poto". "Poto" can be translated literally as "clever", but its deeper meaning implies a person of knowledge, an educated person. Such a person is very much admired and valued. When you have more than one person from an extended family succeeding academically, the extended family takes on that image of being "poto", so you proceed from "tangata/fefine poto" to "family poto".

In some Tongan homes and flats in Auckland, in the lounge which is also a bedroom for a number of people, you will see a huge framed photograph of a young man or woman, wearing the finest fine mat of the family together with the academic regalia, a photo taken on graduation day. That photo epitomises the dream of the migrant parent, the expectation to which the child has to live up to.

That dream is one of the main reasons which pushes people to migrate from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand.

Ability of the Migrant Parent to Support the Child in the New Society

The migrant parent and child will arrive in New Zealand speaking a language other than English. Their settlement in New Zealand will be aided by a part of their extended family, who may or may not have successfully settled into the New Zealand environment themselves.

The parents used to be able to find work, usually through their relations. They will find a church community run by their own ethnic community or a combination of different Pacific Islands ethnic groups. It used to be quite possible for the adult migrant to be always in an environment where they would have other people from the same island or origin to support.

The migrant child attending school will be in a foreign environment with a foreign language and will not have the support of the family within the school environment.

I was a migrant student myself, and I would like to talk about some of my experiences, because I believe that my experiences are typical and the conflicts that I experienced are conflicts that many migrant Pacific Islands students experience today.

I came to New Zealand to attend sixth form after passing New Zealand School Certificate in Tonga. Although I could write English, my ability to speak it was limited. My father, who is a commoner, wanted me to be a doctor, the highest degree one could acquire, in his opinion. So he decided that in the sixth form I would do science subjects, even though the school that I had attended in Tonga was very under-resourced and could not prepare students in science very well. It didn't have much of a laboratory. It also didn't matter that I did not have an aptitude for science and preferred history and English. I attended a Catholic private school. I was placed in the top sixth form which consisted of those students doing science, and I was the only non-white person in the class. My extended family in New Zealand contributed towards the costs of my attending a private school. So far my situation has demonstrated several factors which are common to the majority of Pacific Islands families:

- high expectation by parents, especially fathers;
- belief of the parents that they have a right to decide the child's future;
- the inability of the child to disagree with the parents;
- support of the extended family.

In Tonga, the methodology of teaching of subjects such as history, English literature, and religion was that the teacher would discuss various issues, tell us the right answer, then we would learn the right answers. Because the school that I had attended in Tonga was Catholic and most of the schools in Tonga are run by churches, the teacher felt responsible about giving answers that were compatible with the church doctrine.

The classroom situation in New Zealand was quite different. There was a lot of discussion, with the teacher not necessarily suggesting what were the right or wrong opinions. I clearly remember a debate on the topic "that marriage was an outdated institution". Such a topic would never have been raised in the Catholic school in Tonga. In a religion class, one student asked the

priest who was taking the class, "How did he know that God existed?". Such questions were quite a shock to me. I could not join in the discussions, because I did not speak English well enough, but more than that I did not know how to debate, or understand the process that was going on. I wanted the teacher to say what were the correct opinions, and she did not do that.

I became very confused, then I began to feel very dumb. I believed that the other students perceived me as dumb, and maybe they did. Unfortunately, I think the teachers may have thought that I was dumb too. When one is the only non-white person in the class and one is the 'dumbest' in the class, one begins to think that the two factors are connected. There are probably very few schools in Auckland today with only one Polynesian student in the class, but I think the only difference is that instead of one Pacific Islands student at the bottom of the class, there is now a group of Pacific Islands students at the bottom of the class, thinking the same thing that I did (how many years ago?).

The added problem is that neither the teachers, nor my family, knew what I was going through. My family would have been quite shocked to hear of the discussions that went on in the school and they would not have been able to help. The teachers did not know anything about my background and did not feel, perhaps, that there was any importance in knowing about it. Perhaps teachers today are different.

The problem of connecting "feeling dumb" with one's race, is that one thinks that one cannot overcome being dumb because one cannot change one's race. The parents, before they came to New Zealand, had no sense of racial inferiority and believed that the children could achieve anything, that we could be academically very successful. However, when the children go to school, they very quickly acquire the opposite belief about themselves.

And so many children do not make it in the academic game. It is depressing and disappointing for the parents, but it is also very depressing for the child because the child actually shares the parent's ambition. Some Pacific Islands children get into serious conflicts with their parents and leave home to roam around with other children like themselves and come into conflict with the wider society. Some children do make it to University, but it was my experience, and it is my impression of some Pacific Islands students at university, that they bring to university a strong sense of self doubt and that self doubt affects their performance while at university.

Willingness and Ability of the Host Society to Support the Migrant Parent and Child

I have identified some of the problems that the migrant child experiences in terms of education. Educationalists and everybody else are well aware of the relative lack of success of Pacific Islands students in exams such as School Certificate. Explanations have been given in terms of the socio-economic background of Pacific Islands students; how exams are biased towards the type of knowledge acquired in a Pakeha middle-class environment; how the whole philosophy and methodology of the teaching process within schools reflect a particular cultural entity.

I am not an educationalist, but my own experience of schools in New Zealand, which I believe is common to many other Pacific Islands students, reflects the differences in philosophy and culture between a Pacific Islands young person's family and that of the schools. While educationalists can further define the problems, the question that is of interest to me is: what is specifically being done by the education system to remove some of the obstacles, to overcome some of the problems that are experienced by the Pacific Islands migrant child and the children born here, but of migrant parents.

Assessment methods have been changed, but does the change in assessment methods change what is actually being achieved? Pacific Islands parents and children do want to pass School Certificate. We do want to achieve an academic education.

The content of exam papers, especially English, has been shown to put Pacific Islands students at a disadvantage. That may be so and the content of such exams should be changed. But how much can the assessment of subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and computer studies be changed to be culturally appropriate?

It has been said by some people in the education field that some Pacific Islands parents expect too much of their children and put too much pressure on them. While there is an element of truth in this, in that not all students desire to have or are capable of academic studies, and that students should have the choice of what to do with their life, it is a dangerous statement to make about a group of people generally. It can imply that the people should not have high aspirations because they cannot achieve them. It can also imply that they should not aspire to what they cannot achieve unless they look at why children are not achieving in this particular situation. It is very important that the parents keep their aspirations, that the children appreciate them, and that we work out ways of realising these aspirations. The children would be more in danger if the parents had no

aspirations for them at all. Educationalists have some understanding of the problems but there are no specific ways of addressing them.

One attempt to act in a culturally appropriate way is the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act. Very often, outright conflict between parents and children emerges during the children's teenage years. A group of Pacific Islands students would find themselves at the bottom of the class, would not be able to do their homework, would not be able to take part in class, would become disruptive, would elicit negative reactions from teachers, and then would start to "wag" school. They would leave home in the morning, meet somewhere other than school, then come back home in the evening. A week or so later the school would contact the parents to say that their child had not been to school and to find out what was happening. Parents would then become aware of the problem.

The child is likely to get a good hiding from the father, mother, or guardian. The child may return to school the following day, but after a while, the child "wags" school again but this time does not return home in the evening. The child, with other friends, may steal a car, may break into a shop and be picked up the police a day or a few days later. The child tells the police that they will be beaten by the parents, which is most probably true, that they have been beaten a number of times before. The police are concerned about the child being beaten and refer the case to Social Welfare where social workers share the same concerns. Under the old Act, for the sake of the child's welfare and safety, the social worker would lay a complaint in the Children and Young Person's Court against the parent, that the child was not under proper care and control. The Court grants custody to the Social Welfare Department because obviously the parent is guilty of physical abuse and can't control the child, who is running away.

Both factors are true. The next question then is, what did the Social Welfare Department do better for the child than the parents? In many cases, the child fared worse in the long run than they would have fared had they continued to stay within the family.

The Pacific Islands community strongly supported the change to the new Act of 1989. The community would have preferred the State to stay out of the family's affairs altogether. However, families do have problems, the state does have resources, and children do get abused within their families. Children do need protection, but equally importantly, parents and families need support. The belief of the new Act was that, with the right kind of support, parents can ensure the well-being of their own children.

There is a dangerous shortcoming in that analysis for it is saying that the locus of the problem is the family.

The locus of the problem is the family, the school, the attitudes of the wider "society of" Pakehas to non-white immigrants and especially Pacific Islands immigrants, and in the underlying issue of economics. The solution does not lie only within the family. However, under the new Act, a family group conference will be held, and other significant people in the young person's life can attend, such as teachers, community workers, and social workers. The hope is that, within this forum, the child and all those people concerned for his welfare can come to understand the specific problems that the child is experiencing and that each can work out what help can be offered for the child. Not only that, but that the concerned adults would have the opportunity to communicate and provide a supportive network for the child. I believe that most of the problems that the child and family experience can be overcome and the child can be supported, to realise their potential whatever that may be.

Attempts by the Migrant Community to support the Parent and Child

There is a very important role which is now being played in the Pacific Islands community by young adults who came to New Zealand with their families as young children, but survived the experience of school and came to university or other educational institutions. These adults experienced the conflict with parents and community, but have resolved the conflicts (and to a large extent maintained their first language) by acquiring some analysis and understanding of the bureaucratic system. They also, very importantly, have acquired some knowledge of the history of Pakeha/Maori relationship in the last 150 years, and that history has many lessons to teach the Pacific Islands migrant community.

The adult migrant community established the churches when they arrived, as religious, cultural, and social centres of the community. They gave their children the aspirations and the opportunity for education. They did as much as they could. The problems that their children experienced, in having to function in a monocultural Pakeha education and social system, were not fully understood and so they could not provide the appropriate support for their children's needs. They did not fully understand the educational process, they did not have the language skills or the confidence to approach the school and set up channels of communication with the teachers. But the education system, the health system, and until recently the Social Welfare system, did not have formal or informal links with the Pacific Islands community either. They did not make any serious

attempt to deliver their services to this community in ways that would meet the specific needs of this community.

So my question before was — is the system unwilling or unable to provide appropriate support to its migrant community? To answer this question, it is most useful to know the history of the relationship between the dominant Pakeha community and the indigenous people of this land. I think the answer is that the Pakeha control system has been both unwilling and unable to develop appropriate ways of meeting the needs of people other than Pakeha. Some people may think that this is an unfair comment. There are individuals within the system who are doing their best to facilitate communication with minority peoples and to develop appropriate support systems for them, but this is still not true of the system as a whole. The explanation these days is that the country is in deep economic trouble and services have to be cut instead of being further developed. I will then ask, "When times were good were appropriate services developed?". Not really, is the answer I think. So what was the excuse then?

There are some specific projects that I have been involved in which illustrate the attempts of the migrant community to set up services to support parents and children and the difficulties that we have come up against.

Like the Kohanga Reo movement, Pacific Islands language nests have developed rapidly in the community in the last few years. Apart from the importance of maintaining the language and preparing the child for school, the other major importance of these centres is the work that it does with the parents. This is the area where the migrant child who survived the system, and is now an adult, is making an important contribution.

The language nests are becoming a meeting place where we can converse with parents. This is an opportunity for us and the parents to look at our traditional child-rearing practices, to re-evaluate them, to assess them in terms of their appropriateness in the urban environment. I have referred to the use of physical punishment as a means of discipline. I personally believe that this can easily become very abusive, especially when parents are under stress. I believe that it is ineffective as a form of discipline. I believe that it does not teach the child an authentic morality, for it is physical punishment that is an attempt to control behaviour through the use of fear, so it is detrimental to the child's moral development. I believe that Pacific Islands people should abandon physical punishment altogether.

In the language nests, the children are engaged in a process of conversation with the adult teacher. The parents can see the rapid improvement in the language ability of the children and relate it to the kind of relationship that the teachers have with them. They can see the effectiveness of the use of positive reinforcement as a means of teaching. And they can see that it is not necessary to hit or to yell at children. They see how they themselves can facilitate their children's learning. They learn forms of discipline other than hitting. We hope that when the children attend primary school, the parents would have realised the importance of their involvement and have developed enough confidence to allow them to be involved in the primary school and in all stages of their children's education.

The other very important input that we attempt to provide for parents is in the area of children's health. The health of Pacific Islands children is not in a good state. Hospital admission rate is high and the infant mortality rate is increasing. Pacific Islands parents cannot easily access the health services and lack of finance is another obstacle. Whilst child development knowledge is generally accessible to community workers and we can transmit that knowledge to parents, knowledge about health is more of a specialist area. So pre-schools ask for Public Health Nurses and Plunket nurses to visit the centres and assess the children. The parents are present to hear what they need to hear from the nurses. The pre-school teachers translate the information for them if required. Parents with children too young to attend pre-school also bring these children to the centres for the nurses to see when they do visit.

The Pacific Islands pre-school language nests are becoming a very important centre for education, for both children and parents, in areas of language, child development, and health. I believe that we should provide enough centres so that all children and their parents can have the opportunity to attend them.

There are a number of difficulties that parents and the community have in setting up and maintaining language nests.

An association that I belong to, the Tongan Women's Association, set up a pre-school last November. The costs incurred include the rent of a room, salary for a qualified early childhood education worker, travel expenses for one of the helpers, and cost of materials used by the children. For the first nine months we did not receive any funding assistance from the Ministry of Education. To meet the minimum costs of keeping the centre going, the 15 children would have had to pay $18 - $20 per week. None of the children would have attended if they had to pay this amount. When funding is received, none of it is to be used for salaries. And yet, it is important that at least one adult in the centre has some

training in early childhood education work.

There is a training programme which is run by the New Zealand Childcare Association and PACIFICA for Pacific Islands people working in language nests. The two associations meet the cost of the training. One of the trainers in that programme told me recently that many of the Pacific Islands women who went through that training are now working in childcare centres where they can get a salary, and those centres are not the Pacific Islands ones. There is no criticism at all of the Pacific Islands women who have taken up this employment, for they need the income of the professional middle class women who can afford to pay at least $100 per week for childcare while they pursue a career. But the question remains — what is the mechanism for providing this necessary support for the children and parents from the low income sector of society?

There are other funding sources for community groups but they are not available to be used for pre-schools because those funding services are of the understanding that the Ministry of Education provides funding for pre-schools.

The Pacific Islands community has the people who have the understanding, the knowledge, the skills, and the commitment to provide appropriate support for Pacific Islands children and parents. Our work is not dependent on the government grants. It is dependent on our own vision and energy, but we do need, and we have the right to, some support from the State.

Lita Foliaki is a Community Worker for the Tongan Women's Association, Auckland.

My Journey to New Zealand

by Triêu Huê Bich (Aranui High School, Christchurch)

People migrate for different reasons. For many people the decision is forced upon them and the journey is long and dangerous. The difficulties of settling in a new land are compounded by hardships suffered in getting there.

In 1979, after the Vietnam war, people were living under communist rules. My parents' watch and cigarette factories were taken from them. My parents did not like the communists. After putting up with four years of communist life style, they decided to leave, along with many other families. I was five years old at this time, and my family included five brothers, three sisters, mum and dad and myself; eleven of us in total. We were part Chinese and part Vietnamese, so we were allowed to leave but had to pay the government to do so. My parents were very sad to leave Vietnam. It was their home and they were leaving their families behind. They had to make the decision to leave behind the country they loved and face the unknown, but to them it was worth the risk to leave war-torn Vietnam.

The only way out was by sea. There was a boat that helped people out, but they had to be paid in gold, as Vietnamese money was of no value to them. On the 9 May 1979, at 8.00 pm, all the families met at the boat. It was 22 metres long and 5 metres wide. It was not big enough for the 400 people on board. The families had to be squashed into all the spaces in the boat. It was stuffy, uncomfortable, very hard to breathe, and many people got cramp because they could not move around. Everyone was frightened, because if we were caught we could be shot or put into prison. We were lucky to get away.

On our way to Malaysia we came across a Thai fishing boat. They spotted us but did not come to help because they saw there were too many people on board. Later, we discovered these were Thai pirates and we were lucky they left us alone. So they sailed off, leaving us in open sea, in the middle of nowhere.

We next met up with a Malaysian Navy ship, who were not at all friendly towards us. They prevented us from entering Malaysia. We had to pay them gold for fresh water, and they towed us again out to the open sea. We had no choice but to pay, as they threatened to sink our boat if we didn't. They untied us and gave us directions to Indonesia, and although we didn't trust them, there was no alternative, as we had no idea where we were.

Our long voyage took five days and six nights. On the boat we only ate chao, a rice soup, once a day. There was very little water, only enough for a small drink three times a day. There was no spare water for washing. During the voyage we had some really bad weather, with huge waves that caused the boat to rock. We were terrified that the boat would tip over, as we had seen sharks swimming in the water around us. Many of our belongings had to be thrown overboard to make the boat lighter. A makeshift toilet was built out from the side of the boat. It was just a few planks of wood that you had to balance on, it was very dangerous and scary, especially in bad weather. The conditions were awful, and most of the people thought we would never see land again.

Then, on 15 May at 6.00 pm, we spotted Mangkai, an island which is part of the Anabas islands in Indonesia. Everyone was so eager and happy to see land. Some people couldn't wait and jumped off the boat and swam ashore. It was almost sunset and there were not many people on the beach. We all got off the boat and families

gathered together in groups to spend the night on the beach. By this time we had lost most of our belongings, and had very little with us.

In the morning, the police found us but did not do anything. We stayed on the beach for another three days and then the police took us to another boat and took us to a different island called Caramout. There they recorded all the families on forms, and did the paper work ready to place us somewhere more permanent.

From Caramout we were moved to a refugee camp in Airaya, where we stayed for eight months. In Airaya, my parents wrote to many different countries trying to get accepted. The first choice was New Zealand, but they didn't accept us because we couldn't speak English, had no English education, and had no relations in the country. Their second choice was America, but this was refused as Dad was not a soldier during the war. The third and fourth choices were Australia and Canada; both countries refused as we had too many children and not enough adults to work. There were 15,000 people in the camp. It was overcrowded and very poor, food was supplied, our clothing was donated by the Red Cross, and we had to buy our own house for $US50.00. We bought one house for 11 people. It was made out of palm and was five metres by five metres.

There was a school in the camp run by other Vietnamese refugees. The school only taught English. My mum, dad, four oldest brothers, and sister went to this school. There was also a hospital in the camp, which was also staffed by refugees. A group of non-communist countries called I.C.C.I funded the camp.

We then moved to another island, called Galang. We stayed there for four months and built a small cafe which sold refreshments. Here we were interviewed again for a placement, and this time New Zealand accepted us.

We left Indonesia by ship on 3 May 1980 and sailed to Singapore. The ship was called Port De Lumière and the voyage took three hours. We stayed in Singapore for three days and flew to New Zealand on 5 May.

We stayed in Auckland for one month, where we were medically examined and had many injections against disease. We then came down to Christchurch, where our sponsors picked us up and drove us to our new home. It was a big shock to our family.

Everything was so different, we were strangers in a strange land. The weather was very cold. We were not used to the climate, as Vietnam was much hotter. The language was, and still is, a problem. It is very frustrating when you cannot communicate with people around you. The new food here gave us some funny experiences. One time my father found a jar of jam in the pantry that our sponsor had left for us. He thought it was jelly, so he ate the whole jar. My mother went to buy some apples but used the Vietnamese word which sounds like bomb, so the shopkeeper was shocked to be asked for some bombs. My parents had a hard time looking after nine very young children. As the days passed, we learnt more English and got used to our new country. Now we have settled down and this is our home.

Living Languages, Living Cultures: Te Ha O Nga Reo

Planning is well under way for the third National Conference on Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages due to take place in Auckland from 31 August to 2 September.

Major speakers include: J. Wharehuia Milroy, Senior Lecturer in Maori at Waikato University; Dr Anna Taufe'ulungaki, Deputy Director of Education in Tonga; Dr Rod Ellis, currently teaching at Temple University in Japan; Dr Janet Holmes, Reader in Linguistics at Victoria University; Dr Mary Kalantzis from the Centre for Workplace Communication and Culture at the University of Technology in Sydney; Professor Chung Hoang Chuong from San Francisco State University; and Professor Adolpho Gentile from the Department of Language and Culture Studies at Victoria College in Australia.

Topics presented relate to: Maori education, community languages, early childhood education, primary, secondary, and adult language learning, refugee issues, teacher education, Pacific Islands issues, and interpreting and translating.

May 8 is the deadline for submitting offers for papers, workshops, and displays of materials. Further information is available from Rodger Stokell, School of Languages, Auckland Institute of Technology, Private Bag, Auckland.

Reviews

Did You Know? Using Everyday English in New Zealand
by Wendy Simons. Reviewed by Marilyn Lewis.

From time to time, people ask why there are not more New Zealand produced materials for learners of English as a second language. Apart from the obvious answer of small numbers not warranting big publishing runs, there is sometimes the feeling that materials need to be very elaborate in order to be suitable for a national readership.

The publisher and author of a new book *Did you know? Using Everyday English in New Zealand* have overcome these obstacles. As a writer and a teacher, Wendy Simons has prepared a book that is attractive, interesting and informative. Working within limits of vocabulary and structure which make it accessible but not patronising to post-beginner readers, she introduces a range of topics representative of New Zealand life in the 1990s. Some are practical ("Towed away" will bring back memories for many us), others informative ("The royal albatross"), while other readings attend to cultural aspects of learning. The chapters on Maoritanga and visiting a marae could be the basis of learning beyond the textbook. Each chapter has a photograph or drawing, a reading passage, and vocabulary activities. It could be useful in a later edition to add solutions to the puzzles and activities so that the book could be used independently of teachers.

Learners of English in New Zealand come in all ages and with many tastes. This volume, because it doesn't concentrate on one particular group, will be useful for classes with a range of interests. The chapter about the eruption of Mount Tarawera could be the starting point for finding out more about New Zealand history or for encouraging students to pass on to one another the history of their own countries. The piece about the Japanese mountaineer who survived the 1990 blizzard on Mt Ruapehu will remind teachers and learners of newspapers as a source of reading material.

This book fills a gap in locally produced material. As one learner of English said to me through an interpreter, "I think I could read it. It looks interesting". The remarkable price of $14.95 makes it even more attractive.

An Immigrant Nation
by Mary-Ellen O'Connor. Reviewed by Gillian Green.

The need for good New Zealand-based resources on our population, that both recognise our bicultural history and acknowledge our developing multiculturalism, continues. This book claims to examine "why and how groups arrived and what impact they had on each other". It is part of Heinemann's social studies series and would seem to be intended for use with the Form 4 Migration topic. It is well illustrated with some interesting biographical details, and seeks to cover the topic widely, from the arrival of the tangata whenua, through British settlement, to the migration experience of Chinese, Indian, Dutch, Jewish, and Indo-Chinese settlers, among others. It certainly shows that this is a population of increasing variety.
However, it is not a satisfying book, because its educational aim is unclear. It is neither a textbook, nor a resource book; a clarification for neither students, nor teachers. By attempting to cover everything, it deals with little: a heading "A History of Indo-China" is followed by just two paragraphs! It assumes enormously broad knowledge and research skills, and doesn't seek to answer the myriad of questions that inevitably arise. It relies on students working with particular texts, which may not be in the classroom. Further, most social studies teachers would already be employing the lateralising activities of this work. In the end, despite the book's visual interest, one must wonder what purpose it serves.

Gillian Green, is the H.O.D. English at Newlands College, Wellington, and the author of "Services for New Settlers".

MANY VOICES

A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues

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Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington

Introduction

Tena koutou katoa.

New Zealand has a long history of educational links with the Pacific and with South East Asia through programmes such as the Columbo Plan. The idea of actively marketing our education system as a "product" is a relatively new one. In the rush to enter this apparently lucrative market some ventures have foundered in a blaze of adverse publicity. Several articles in this issue look at the topic of overseas students and offer some thoughtful comments.

The teaching of English is one strand of a proposed National Languages Policy. A report on the development of a policy, entitled *Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves*, was released for discussion this term. Copies were sent to all schools and tertiary institutions. Readers are urged to consider and respond to the issues raised in the report, as outlined in the first article in this issue.

This term has also seen the second round of elections for Boards of Trustees and schools will have reflected on the nature and strength of their relationship with their surrounding community. At a time when the president of the Principal's Federation suggests that schools should offer parenting courses, this partnership becomes increasingly important. Many schools have developed new ways of communicating with and involving parents from minority ethnic groups and we welcome articles on this topic for future issues.

Leith Wallace
Editor

Views expressed in this journal are those of the contributors and do not necessarily represent those of the editor or publisher.

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New Zealand Languages Policy Report Released

Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves, a report on the development of a languages policy for New Zealand, was released at the end of June as a discussion document. The report, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, aims to address the full range of issues that would need to be dealt with in the formulation of a national languages policy for this country.

Aotearoa looks at language issues under five headings — language, English, te reo Maori, community languages, and international languages — across a number of sectors, including broadcasting, community development, education, international relations and trade, the labour market, social services, and tourism.

The report identifies six critical areas that require policy development: Maori language revitalisation, second-chance adult literacy, school ESL/ language maintenance, adult ESL, national capabilities in international languages, and provision of services in languages other than English.

A number of options for future directions are explored, including:

- the integration of Maori into the common curriculum from Standard 2 to Standard 4, and the integration of a second language into the common curriculum from Form 1 to Form 5;
- the integration of ESOL teaching into the common curriculum of basic teacher education programmes;
- funding for community language maintenance programmes;
- the extended use of New Zealand Sign Language in the education of deaf students;
- the establishment of a national priority list of international languages.

Responses to the issues raised in the report are sought by 1 October 1992. Particular questions that could be answered in responses are the following:

- Are there any errors of fact or interpretation contained in the report? If so, what are they? What are the correct facts and interpretations?
- Are there any gaps in the survey of language issues in New Zealand? If so, what are they?
- What are the most appropriate structures and processes for the on-going development and implementation of languages policy in New Zealand?
- What specific measures need to be included in a national languages policy? In the short term? In the medium term? In the long term?
- What are the roles of central government/local government/communities/businesses/ professional organisations/individuals in the development of language resources?

Respondents should send their submissions to the Secretary for Education, Private Box 1666, Wellington. Further copies of the report can be obtained free of charge from Learning Media, Box 3293, Wellington.

Overseas Fee Paying Students in a New Zealand Secondary School

by Olive Lawson

"Back in the '70s and early '80s most of us wouldn't have dreamt of selling education. If we had a surplus we probably would have given it away in 1970."
From a speech by the Deputy Prime Minister, Rt Hon Don McKinnon at the New Zealand Education International Ltd Conference, 27 March 1992.

When the circulars from the Ministry of Education came into secondary schools in 1989 informing schools that they were now able to "sell" educational services, the huge mindset into which many teachers were locked got a sudden jolt. Education had always been free, with new arrivals welcomed and accommodated no matter how short of space or resources we were. Turning our warm friendly school into a money-making business was an idea abhorrent to some and attractive to others.

Teacher Reaction In Our School

Some staff viewed the project as the answer to all our prayers, the "golden egg". They thought that somehow, overseas students would come walking up our drive clutching enormous sums of money which they would pass over to us for the privilege of being educated in our institution. We would then spend all this disposable cash on such things as new stage curtains, class sets of computers, extra staffing, areas of need, etc, etc. Others felt uncomfortable and mistrustful. They worried that the overseas students would become an elite minority demanding the "best" classrooms with the "best" teachers and the "best" students. Egalitarianism was under threat. And the sums we were asked to consider charging seemed, to those teachers, very, very expensive.

For those such as myself, under whose umbrella this fell, all sorts of new questions had to be considered. How many were we prepared to take? How would we determine their level of English? What sort of special assistance would they

require? What countries would they come from? How much would we charge them? What about parent and student attitudes? Would an influx of overseas students cause "white flight"? Where would they live? What requirements, if any, were to be made of guardians concerning obligations to the school and obligations to the students?

Acceptance Policy

A policy for the acceptance of private, overseas, fee paying students was developed in our school. In order to ascertain that the applying student had "a level of English proficiency such that she can work with some assistance in the mainstream classroom appropriate to her age" we included a pre-requisite that the most recent school reports must be sent to us for translation before we would consider acceptance. "The reports must show good work habits and good attitudes and have marks from average to above average."

We deliberately took a cautious approach for we had heard horror stories from an Australian teacher on the staff about students whose parents had left them (with house and car) to fend for themselves while they returned to the home country. Truancy and other associated behaviour problems resulted. We also didn't feel it necessary to introduce any students with learning difficulties to our school and, as we clearly had a choice about acceptance, determined to admit only those who would have some chance to succeed in the New Zealand system.

A recommendation that students should consider two years' schooling rather than just a form seven year (as is most popular) was included. From past experience we knew that many students want to study only at form seven level, in order to save their parents money, to get their English up to scratch, to adjust to the New Zealand climate and lifestyle, and then to move on to a New Zealand university. The huge cultural shift they have to make in terms of both teaching, learning and assessment methods (not to mention social adjustments) is sometimes so overwhelming that it is only the most determined student who can do it satisfactorily in twelve months.

Pastoral Care

What has happened? It is now my view that the single most important factor in ensuring the success of any overseas student lies in pastoral care. I don't think it matters how good the school, the facilities, or the teachers are, the fact is that if the student is not happy and comfortable in New Zealand he or she will not do well. A happy student also affects marketing. One satisfied student reports back to the home country how great it is here. Friends, relations, others from the same city, school, or town in the home country hear about our school and this has a gradual snowball effect. Word of mouth is probably the most powerful marketing tool in Asia.

Problems at School

There are many differences and difficulties that overseas students will experience when they first come to live and study in New Zealand. In the first three weeks I hear the same complaint over and over again: "The teacher talks too fast." Many students come with good English comprehension but need time to tune their ear to our particular accent. They also need time to process information coming at them in English every minute of the school day. In their home country maybe they heard English for only an hour or two at most every day.

The first weeks can be both physically and mentally tiring for an overseas student. Big schools have a complicated layout, and the fact that in New Zealand students move from class to class, rather than the teacher coming to the class, is always mentioned to me as a stress factor in the first weeks. A good map of the school is an essential handout to all new arrivals.

Large open-plan classrooms where freedom of movement and independent learning take place are scary learning environments for most overseas students. The fact that some senior classes can be small is very daunting for newly arrived Asians. In a large class of thirty or more one can "hide" among the masses, but small classes compel participation. Many students have been taught in an environment where asking questions was rarely, if ever, part of their classroom behaviour, and the idea of giving their own opinion on a matter and having that opinion valued is a huge cultural shift. Any discussion work does not seem like "learning" and may be difficult to follow, especially in the early weeks.

Senior classes almost all require students to hand in assignments and give seminars. These assessment methods seem frightening and strange ways of acquiring knowledge to a student who has been used to an entirely passive system of learning — namely, with the teacher up front imparting information and the student learning and passing tests on that information. I have found that a great deal of encouragement and support is needed with the first assignment, no matter what the subject, and with the first seminar. Finding the way around the Library, learning to use the computer, vertical file, microfiche, asking the librarian ... are all valuable introductions to study with which the student needs assistance. Often, teachers expect their students in, say, Accounting or Economics to go downtown to a business or other source of information and collect data. They may be expected to telephone, interview, visit, or write letters to seek

information. Encouragement and reassurance every step of the way for the first such task pays good dividends. If the first one goes well, confidence rises and subsequent assignments and seminars require less input.

Accommodation

Where do they live? Our first overseas students all lived with friends or relatives and we did not concern ourselves with their home circumstances. Before long, increased requests forced us to consider setting up a system of "Home Stays", that is, living with a local New Zealand family in a full board situation. Many Asians see this as very advantageous, for they want the whole New Zealand lifestyle experience and above all they want to live with English-speaking people in order to force themselves to bring their English up to native speaker level as quickly as possible. I have noticed that those who live in homes where they speak only their mother tongue often take longer to feel comfortable in a conversational setting and noticeably hang back in informal classroom situations.

Quality home stays are a big factor in student's happiness. A good accommodation officer monitoring the home stays is vital. Families may need some counselling on cultural differences they can expect from the student and the student will definitely need ongoing dialogue concerning fitting in and adjusting to the family with whom she is living. It is best to shift an unhappy student as quickly as possible and for this reason a reserve list of home stays is advisable.

Conclusion

To date, overseas students in our school have been neither the "golden egg", nor a threat to the social or academic structure of the school. They do add some welcome finance and a fresh new cultural flavour. We are aware that, in selling our education, we must provide quality service and this fact alone keeps us on our toes. It must be good for us all.

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The Problems of Overseas Students in New Zealand Universities

by Gregory James and Noel Watts

The place of overseas students in New Zealand institutions has received considerable publicity and debate recently. This article examines research on the subject to date, and is a valuable contribution to the discussion. The students' comments are perceptive.

New Zealand is a late contender in the battle to woo overseas students to its shores. In this respect New Zealand has followed the example of other English-speaking countries which have realised the economic advantages of increasing overseas student numbers. However, little attempt has been made to investigate student concerns or to identify the difficulties that overseas students face in adapting to the New Zealand environment. The small amount of available research data on overseas students in New Zealand universities has, for the most part, been provided by overseas students themselves by way of reports or theses at either the undergraduate or post-graduate level.

It is our belief that more research should be undertaken about the situation of overseas students in New Zealand. Although research carried out in other countries provides valuable comparative information, there is an urgent need for locally-based research. As a first step, we will attempt to review some of the disparate pieces of research that are available and identify areas that warrant further investigation.

Social and Cultural Adjustment Concerns

The earliest academic enquiry concerning overseas students we have found is that by Ng (1962), whose bibliography was, not unexpectedly, fairly thin, consisting mainly of unpublished reports, newspaper references, and commentaries in student magazines. In a localised survey amongst 68 students at the University of Canterbury, she identified three areas of adjustment (that is, motivational, cognitive and normative) at two levels (that is, acceptance and identification) and analysed students' reports of their experiences in these terms. A predominant concern of her subjects was overt prejudice by landladies and the consequent problem of securing adequate and suitable off-campus accommodation. Ng offered a selection of reasons for a perceived lack of contact between overseas students and New Zealanders, but made very little mention of oral

language difficulties in this context.

Trinh (1968) included a useful bibliography in a collection of contributions by overseas students but, again, these were mostly confined to unpublished reports and letters to the press. His book is significant, nevertheless, in that it was the first contribution to attempt to synthesize, for public consumption, the different points of view within New Zealand (administrative, public, student) concerning the problems faced by overseas students in the academic as well as the wider community.

A somewhat larger bibliography was provided by Noor (1968) who identified the difficulties experienced by Asian students in establishing and maintaining social contact with New Zealand students.

> At meals the overseas students tend to congregate together in one section of the room — usually at the corner tables. The odd New Zealand students have made conscious efforts to join the overseas students at their "corner"; but they usually do not persist in doing this. This is probably because they have to keep on asking questions in order to keep a "conversation" going ... Very rarely will there be a conversation started by an overseas student; and when this happens it usually is about university work. Sometimes, also, the New Zealand student is discouraged from joining, because the overseas students begin to converse in their own language.
> (Noor, 1968: 44-45)

In addition, Noor mentioned other cross-cultural difficulties, including that of a certain resentment amongst New Zealanders at what were perceived as unreasonable demands by overseas students for special attention. On the other hand, the overseas students perceived local people's reactions to their presence as superficial and patronising.

> It is held by some that many overseas students are expecting too much from their New Zealand "hosts". They want the best of everything — the best board for the cheapest price, and all academic and social preferences and concessions. On the other hand, there is a failure on the part of many New Zealanders in their treatment of overseas students ... For example, they expect overseas students to turn up at their meetings in national costumes to add some exotic flavour without having any real interest in the students themselves.
> (Noor, 1968: 1-2)

Chew (1971) and Hwang (1971), in small-scale surveys, came to much the same conclusion as did Dalley (1972) who, in a survey undertaken at the University of Otago, commented:

> New Zealand students have fairly minimal contact with overseas students. This lack of contact is blamed by the New Zealand students on overseas students keeping within their own ethnic groups, communication problems, and different interests. In general, the New Zealand students accused the overseas students, especially Asian students, of making no effort to interact with them.
> (Dalley, 1972: 31)

Dalley speculated that one of the reasons why there is this lack of interaction between overseas students and New Zealand students is the identity conflict that overseas students experience as sojourners in an alien environment. This conflict is highlighted in the following comments by a Samoan student:

> I always want to include others (Kiwis) in the conversation by speaking English or translating for them, but I don't want my own people to think that I'm becoming too much of a Kiwi. I don't want them to think that I don't care anymore about being a Samoan.
> (Dalley, 1972: 72)

Balasupramanian (1982) also emphasized the stressful nature of study in a foreign environment and pointed out the importance for overseas students of maintaining close relationships with members of their own cultural community.

> Generally most overseas students find it easier to talk to their own compatriots ... Shared language experiences and a common cultural heritage aside, they find communication with their own community to be less stressful and demanding. This is not to suggest that there are no gregarious individuals ... There are many foreign students who are good social mixers but eventually they discover they must draw sustenance from their own community.
> (Balasupramanian, 1982: 7)

Soon (1974), on the other hand, claimed that the belief that overseas students keep to themselves and avoid contact with other student groups is an erroneous impression based on the fact that overseas students are highly visible within campus society. Soon quoted as evidence for this the following remarks made by a third-year Malaysian-Chinese student:

> You just have to open your ears and you will hear such remarks as: "These Malaysian students — all they ever do is group together, live together, talk in their own language ..." Little do these Kiwis realise they are no better. It's just as typical seeing cliques of Malaysian-Chinese students as the presence of cliques of Kiwis with similar interests. We are just unlucky. Our physical features and numbers make us far too obvious.
> (Soon, 1974: 120)

Finally, one might add to this discussion of social and cultural adjustment difficulties the results of the survey conducted by Leo (1983)

amongst 244 Malaysian students which found that those with New Zealand friends were better adjusted (academically, socially, culturally, physically and "generally") to life in New Zealand than those without, and that those who shared flats or homes with New Zealanders were better adjusted than those who did not. This would seem to suggest that students who had successfully managed to cross social and cultural barriers were the ones who gained most general satisfaction from their sojourn experience in New Zealand.

Focus on specific language difficulties

Tan (1969) reporting a similar investigation to that of Noor (1968), at the University of Otago, specifically identified language as one of the main areas of concern for overseas students, and skill in oral interaction, especially in social contexts, as a major problem amongst the group surveyed, viz., Malaysian and Singaporean students.

> Participation in some cultural societies of the university requires a background of specialized skills. The fact that these are not emphasized in English schools in Malaysia-Singapore places this group of students at a disadvantage. (Tan, 1969: 164)

In a study of students from Tonga, the Cook Islands, and Western Samoa, Furneaux (1973) found that 70% of the group indicated that they had "a great deal of" or "some" language difficulty in their first year at university, and 30% stated that the most troublesome problem to them was talking in English and being misunderstood.

Kong (1975), in an investigation of 112 Malaysian and Singaporean students at the University of Auckland, found that lack of proficiency in English was more acute amongst those who had been educated in Chinese-medium schools in Malaysia or Singapore, the majority of whom reported having as friends mostly fellow Malaysians and Singaporeans (with whom they conversed in Chinese) and only "a few" New Zealanders. However, they did report that their English competence improved over time.

> On the whole, the students in the sample experienced fewer language problems after they had been in New Zealand for one year ... 58.5% replied that their English was improved by "mixing with Kiwis". 14.6% said that they used the news media to improve their English. For the other 26.9% their reasons varied. Some explained that they were used to the local accent ... A few said that they spoke English more frequently, more slowly, and tried to make the New Zealanders understand them. (Kong, 1975: 51)

Koh (1980), in a similar enquiry amongst 55 second- and third-year Malaysian Chinese students at the University of Waikato, concluded that lack of proficiency in English seriously affected their adjustment to the local environment, leading to frustration, feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, disorientation, withdrawal, or alienation. These, in turn, led to students avoiding social contact or participation in social activities through fear of an inability to communicate adequately. Only 1.8% of the sample claimed to be "very fluent in conversation and technical English" and 12.7% "fluent [in] conversation, but [had] "trouble with technical English"; 12.7% claimed that they had "limited conversation"; and 47.3% could "understand conversation, but cannot express myself" (p. 92).

Koh's investigation offers some useful findings for the area of English for academic purposes. For example, he examined the extent to which his respondents perceived that English language difficulties discouraged them from interacting with other students in tutorials or classroom discussion. Nine point one percent saw this as a "very serious" or "serious" problem; 25.5% as a "moderate problem"; 41.8% as a "minor" problem; and 23.6% as "no problem" (p. 97). In spite, therefore, of their perception that there were language difficulties, the majority did not appear to be discouraged from participating in tutorial group discussion. However, the lack of spoken fluency remained an inhibiting factor in formal oral activities — "such as giving oral reports, seminars or participating in discussions" (p. 99). Twenty-nine point one percent saw this as a "very serious" or "serious" problem; 36.4% as a "moderate problem"; 25.5% as a "minor" problem; and only 9.1% as "no problem" (p. 100). Furthermore, 21.8% of the subjects claimed that they felt that their English language proficiency affected their academic performance and was a "very serious" or "serious" problem.

However, it is interesting, in view of the fact that Western teachers often claim that Asian students are reluctant to ask questions or to express critical opinions in seminars or discussions because of cultural prohibitions against challenging authority, that only 12.9% of the subjects in Koh's survey claimed that they found asking lecturers and tutors questions a "very serious" or "serious" problem (p. 112), indicating, perhaps, that amongst this second- and third-year cohort, the majority had learned to conform to the expectations of the foreign classroom and had made a tactical adjustment in their attitudes and behaviour.

Ooi (1980), in an investigation at Massey University, found that 5% of her sample claimed to have "no difficulty in expressing themselves adequately" in English; 76% "sometimes" had difficulty; 18% "always" had difficulty and 1%

had difficulty "all the time" (though the difference between the last two categories was not explained in the report). Of these students, 33% claimed that they had above average ability in speaking English; 45% claimed to be average; and 22% below average. Thus, even those who felt themselves to have a fairly good command of spoken English (though, again, exactly what "above average" meant was not explained), nevertheless also felt themselves to have difficulty in oral expression in an English-speaking academic environment. Similarly, Balasupramanian (1982), investigating overseas post-graduates in the Faculty of Business Studies of Massey University, found that many students experienced a lack of confidence in speaking before groups and as a result felt themselves to be disadvantaged.

Conclusion

The small amount of research carried out in New Zealand on the difficulties faced by overseas students has found that overseas students are concerned socially with their understanding of the life and manners of the country, with their lack of acceptance by New Zealanders beyond a superficial level, and with not being able to cross social barriers because of lack of fluency in spoken English. As a consequence, and in response to deep-felt social and emotional needs for security and cultural identity, many have tended to associate in groups with others of their own linguistic or ethnic origin, and have not had the contact they desired with their New Zealand contemporaries. This has occasionally led to misunderstanding and tension within the academic community.

In addition, the overseas students have felt themselves to be hampered in their studies by their perceived low standards of proficiency in English, particularly in expressing themselves orally and understanding spoken English.

Although these findings do provide useful data on the difficulties faced by overseas students in New Zealand there is an obvious need for larger scale studies which would investigate the nature of these concerns in a more precise manner. It is to be hoped that encouragement of overseas students to enrol in educational institutions will, in the future, be matched by more determined efforts to examine the situation in which these students find themselves and identify ways in which they could be assisted to derive greater satisfaction from their study experiences.

A full bibliography of the references within this article is available from the editor.

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Asian Thoughts

by Sharon Lau

Epsom Girls' Grammar School has always been a multicultural school. It has students from all over the world and more recently, with the influx of Asian immigrants, Asian students have become one of the largest ethnic groups in the school. And I am Asian.

I've always wanted to tell others what it's like to be a new immigrant and a new student of Epsom Girls', coping socially and academically in this totally new environment. But I was passive, thinking that I should mind my own business, and I'm sure that this attitude is shared by many Asian students who are new to the school. Since this is my last year at Epsom Girls', I think I should put forward what I really want to voice.

I came to NZ from Hong Kong three years ago. During my first few months here, I was coping socially, emotionally, and academically as well as trying to break the language barrier, so I was pretty apathetic. I minded my own business and didn't care to join any extra-curricular activities. But then I realized that the easiest way to cope is to get involved, as the school provides us with many opportunities. I found that most students are very friendly (the staff too) and very approachable. You don't have to be talented to get involved; I don't play any sports myself but I entered the Sports Day every year and had a good time!

Sometimes it's tough, especially when there are people making racist comments, but these people are the minority. Just be positive — that's all that matters. Then there is the problem of being caught in two cultures. If I only hang out with Asians, then I'm not really living in the New Zealand way of life. I've heard some of my friends saying that New Zealanders are outcasting them socially. But think again, sometimes we are outcasting them ourselves, with the urge to know about the latest news and gossip of our home country. On the other hand, if I only hang out with New Zealanders, some of my Asian friends will comment that I am turning my back on my roots.

What I personally believe in is moderation. I want to be part of this society, to be accepted socially and still be able to relate to my own culture. I am Chinese and always will be. No one should deny their own identity. I've actually encountered some Chinese who deny that they are Chinese!

Culturally, we have a lot to contribute to the school and to the society. Unfortunately, up to this moment, many Asian students do not get involved, largely because of the language difference. I truly hope that in the near future, more Asian students will get involved in school activities, as I do feel that there is too much

generalisation about the Asian students being nerdy and apathetic. And to all other students, be patient and give us a chance, the school will be a much better place if we all respect one another's culture.

Sharon Lau was a Seventh form student at Epsom Girls' Grammar School in 1991.

Chinese Learning Styles: A Personal View

by Thomas Ching

Chinese Society: some brief comments

The Confucian Tradition is very strong in Chinese society. It emphasizes kind-heartedness, righteousness, morality and ethics, behaving according to social norms, and a sense of shame. Therefore Chinese are culturally and traditionally conservative.

Chinese often live in an extended family. There is a strong bond between parents, children, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Thus they keep in touch on all kinds of holidays and occasions. Chinese usually share bad experiences and feelings with close relatives and intimate friends.

Traditionally, sons are preferred to daughters. Parents are extremely concerned about their children's success, their developing acceptable social behaviour, their happiness and well-being in health, body and mind (this is conceived as "luck").

The concept of "face" is very important. Chinese are very concerned about the establishment and maintenance of a positive image, which means a high social status. They would be ashamed and lose "face" if they were criticised publicly. If they do something wrong, they feel they have brought shame on the whole family.

The open expression of strong emotions or anger is regarded as impolite. Chinese try to suppress their anger and frustration. Showing anger may be regarded as displaying a lack of education.

It is rare to express apologies with friends and family, especially if the "superior" person in the relationship makes the mistake. Parents would virtually never apologise to their children. ("Superior" is the person of higher status in the relationship, for example, Mother is "superior" to her child. A grandfather is "superior" to his children. A boss is "superior" to the employee.)

However, an apology is necessary from a subordinate to his superior. The apology is often conveyed through body language rather than verbally. An example might be a bow of the head.

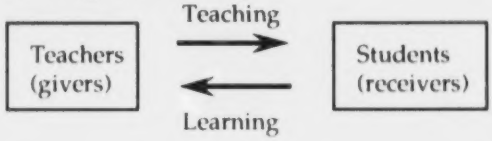
Gifts: It is quite normal to decline an offer of a gift. But once a gift is offered and received, the recipient just puts the gift aside and does not open it until the guests have left. To open the gift immediately may be implying that the gift is more important than the guests.

Chinese seldom thank their friends, especially for small things that friends do for them, because thanking friends for those small things just makes the relationship feel formal or distant. Chinese prefer to act humbly, and not be complimented and praised in public.

Respect for the eldest: this means acceptable social behaviour, especially on formal occasions. It would be unusual for a subordinate to directly advance his/her own opinion to contradict the superior in public. In social gatherings, people wait for the most senior person to leave before they leave. This is also true in classroom situations — students usually wait for their teacher to leave the classroom before themselves leaving.

Chinese regard laws and rules as being set up by government or superiors to serve social purposes and to enhance the general good of society. The subordinate is expected to support his superior, such as a clerk to his boss, a son to his father, a wife to her husband, a student to his teacher. Therefore a student would never disagree with his teacher, especially not in school situations. To a certain extent debate or disagreement is acceptable at University level. However, this is very delicate and low-key only.

Learning and Teaching



"Learning" is the ability to master a body of knowledge which has been presented by a teacher and "teaching" is the presentation of this body of knowledge in the most accessible way. "Learning" and "teaching" are activities within the classroom which are serious, formal and important. Any activities outside the classroom are likely to be seen as an "optional extra" rather than a necessity.

Teachers are people who already have mastered a body of knowledge and are prepared to impart this to students. To be a master of subject content is considered fundamental to being a good teacher. Teachers are held in high esteem because they are professional superiors. They are expected to set a good example, especially in behavioural conduct. Thus, when there is parent and student respect for the teacher, learning and teaching activities can be carried out effectively.

Learning and teaching activities are serious. Strict "academic areas" have priority over all

else. So that any "play" or "enjoyment" within classrooms is seen as detrimental to learning.

Outdoor activity programmes are seen as relaxing and enjoyable and not part of formal educational activities. Chinese students are over-protected by their parents and they are reliant on them, especially in daily life matters. Because of this, Chinese students are quite reluctant to go on overnight camps as they are away from their "protective" environment and it is not seen as a priority for education.

Students and Parents

Students are not expected to argue with the teacher. When asked to take part in a discussion, they may be too embarrassed to participate because it is a "public" activity.

Students regard it as very serious to make mistakes, so normally they are reluctant to volunteer answers to questions in case they make a mistake publicly. Instead, they would expect a "correct" answer from the teacher, rather than try and not know.

It is important for students to do well at school. Their job is to master the knowledge that the teacher presents. They want to improve their own performance rather than compete with others.

Students expect to have regular tests and examinations which are their only measures of academic achievement. The idea of self-assessment is not regarded as appropriate because it seems to relay unreliable and inaccurate data. Formalised assessment is seen to be the most reliable and accurate measure of "academic" performance. Marks and grades are thus regarded as most important.

Students normally ask for advice on what they should do, especially in terms of courses of study. They believe that the teacher has the requisite knowledge to give guidance and counselling.

The male always makes the major decisions in the family. Hence it would be better for the father to attend school interviews and to make any decisions about the schooling of the children, rather than the mother. If mother attends she usually will not make decisions until consultation with the father has occurred.

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He speaks Cantonese and Mandarin fluently and has broad experience and knowledge of Singapore, Taiwan, and Mainland China. He is from Hong Kong.

Instructional Strategies for Second-Language Learners in the Content Areas

Summarised by Barbara Mabbett

The *Journal of Reading* for October 1991 carried an article under this heading by Maria de la Luz Reyes and Linda A. Molner, both of the University of Colorado. The two authors have had particular experience in working with Hispanic and Asian students in the U.S.A, but the principles and practices that they suggest are effective for teachers in many second-language settings. They point out that these particular strategies are not limited to use when English is the target language: rather, these approaches have proved valuable in a number of countries with diverse groups of learners.
Key ideas from this article are summarised here to assist teachers who have not read the *Journal* and to encourage them to seek out the article and perhaps refer to some of the many references that Reyes and Molner cite.

The authors express concern that language-diverse students are often placed in low ability groups and given a "watered-down" version of the curriculum. Such a policy results in students not being exposed to higher-order thinking skills because their English is not fluent. By the time students reach high school, their self-concept will be low, and their behaviours in the face of reading failure will amount to learned helplessness. Limited background knowledge, coupled with the increasing concept load of secondary textbooks, are likely to add to their sense of failure. It is thus extremely important that teachers employ strategies that can be applied in mixed-ability groups so that language-minority students do not become "streamed down" and caught in the cycle of failure.

Background-building strategies

Linking new ideas to students' background knowledge is important in order to place new content material in context and to read successfully. The following well-tested strategies, useful to all students, are especially helpful to language-minority learners.

- *Semantic mapping*: this strategy begins with class brainstorming in which students generate words and phrases associated with a topic. The teacher then works with the students in discussion to organise this information into a "map". The students subsequently read about the topic and revise and enlarge their maps.

This strategy helps second-language learners because they have the opportunity to contribute ideas towards the common goal, to hear ideas from others, and to work with a visual diagram to support expression in the target language. As students predict, hypothesise, and then verify ideas from their reading, they are more likely to recall and understand the new material.

- *Pre-reading plan*: this method resembles the semantic map, but invites "free association" with a key concept. For instance, the teacher may ask, "Tell me what comes to mind when you hear the expression, "the arms race"? All responses are written on the board with the student's initials beside them. Each student is then asked to elaborate on the initial association — "What made you think of 'missiles'?" Finally, students reorganise and synthesise their knowledge, taking into account ideas they have heard — "From our discussion, what new ideas do you have about the arms race?"
  This strategy helps to draw on prior knowledge using an informal, non-threatening environment, and gives opportunities to use the target language and participate in focused discussion with the written ideas as reinforcement.

- *Experience—Text-relationship method*: this strategy links a question-and-discussion method focusing on key concepts in a text with the reading of short segments of the material. The teacher then checks through questions about the content and helps to draw links between the text and prior experiences. The strategy is comparable with guided reading, in that the teacher helps to provide a scaffolding which is especially useful where technical or specialised vocabulary is involved.

Writing to learn activities

Writing as a part of learning content promotes thinking and helps students to construct meaning.

- *Guided writing procedure*: this strategy is closely related to semantic mapping. After brainstorming the topic and creating an outline, students write a short piece using the outline as a guide. This first draft is built on with the teacher guiding content and structure and further reading to develop the concepts. Conferencing is an integral part of this method. Where co-operative formats are used in addition to teacher guidance, opportunities for minority language students are further reinforced.

- *Connecting school writing with community resources*: this strategy is grounded in the principle that connections with community issues and concerns strengthen relevance and help to address the needs of students. Having students conduct interviews and surveys and then work, with teacher guidance, on structured writing to reflect their findings helps emphasise authentic communication and improve attitudes to writing.

Co-operative learning activities

The authors refer to research on the effects of co-operative learning which indicates strong gains for language minority students because of the value many cultures place on group interaction, as well as the teacher and peer group reinforcement that co-operative methods encourage.

- *Student teams-achievement divisions*: this strategy involves forming teams of diverse students to study material together, with individual quizzes on mastery leading to team scoring and team rewards.

- *Jigsaw*: this strategy has each member of a group selecting one section of a unit or topic to research and teach to other group members. Each student is also assigned to an "expert group" of the students from other groups who are responsible for the same section of material, so that their teaching of their home group is well understood. This strategy uses team methods to prepare students to communicate effectively and to promote purposeful learning.

Reyes and Molner also describe a specific inquiry-based science programme, Finding Out/Descubrimiento, which also uses linguistically heterogeneous groups for science activities. Students move around learning centres through a series of activities related to a theme.
The authors note that students quickly learn the technical terms and appropriate language for conducting the activities. Acquisition of English emerges naturally and rapidly through integration in the content areas.
This programme is described as a good example of a programme that uses well-founded methods.

Benefits for students and teachers

The methods described in the article are presented because they are practicable and manageable for content-area teachers in mixed classrooms. They are offered to make teachers' jobs more satisfying and effective in meeting the needs of language-minority students and enriching their language and learning.

1992 Community Interpreter Training in the South

by Gwendoline Cleland

Module I of the South Island's first community interpreter training course was held at Christchurch Polytechnic from February 24-28 1992. The course was led by Dr Sabine Fenton, Director of the Centre for the Training of Interpreters and Translators at the Auckland Institute of Technology.

From the fifty-five people who sat the pre-course language assessment test, twenty-four were selected and another person with skills in sign language brought the total number of course participants to twenty-five. There were thirteen languages represented and all participants had some previous experience of interpreting in a wide variety of community situations. Most were already operating in environments which brought them into close contact with people whose first language was not English.

The ESOL Centre at Christchurch Polytechnic is excited about the launching of this course as it starts to meet a pressing community need. The personal impact on participants has been powerful. The community as a whole is very interested and numerous inquiries following the course demonstrate the need for future courses.

The Area Health Board now has an interpreter service, largely due to the efforts of Tony Daley and Adrienne Thomas from Patient Affairs.

Module I covered the professional skills and procedures of interpreting and the ethics of the profession. It was an extremely busy course, with maximum input from participants based on their previous experiences. The pace was 'full-on' throughout the week but there still seemed to be enough time for participants to bring up individual concerns where appropriate.

A nice touch at the end was the birth of a baby girl to Salote Faletolu, a Tongan participant. One of her new baby's names is Sabine. You can't have a better tribute to a course director than that, can you?

Gwendoline Cleland is the ESOL Centre Manager at Christchurch Polytechnic.

Interpreting And Translating In A Community Setting

by Kay de Ruyter

Awareness of the unique quality of Tokoroa's ethnic community, the perceived need of community and government organisations for trained interpreters and translators, and the redundancies at the Kinleith mill resulting in a pool of bi-lingual people becoming unemployed, led to the establishment of an eight week full-time Polytechnic course to train interpreters and translators in a community setting.

Initially, seven students were selected; two speakers each of Cook Islands Maori, Samoan and Filipino (Tokoroa has an estimated 70-80 Filipino migrants) and one Maori speaker. Selection criteria included the student's level of bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism, motivation, and maturity.

First language supervisors, themselves registered interpreters and translators, were assigned to each pair of students. Their task was to monitor student progress in language concepts and to check and assess all work.

As the students had little previous experience of government and statutory organisations, practical learning in courthouse, Health Department and social welfare situations was essential. Students were required to research social services groups and practise translating pamphlets and leaflets for these. A new settlers orientation leaflet in the Filipino language, a directory of Cook Islands and Samoan resource people and groups, on using medication (to be distributed to doctors and chemists), a Budget Advisory Service leaflet, and the preparation and the presentation of radio news in Cook Islands Maori and Samoan were some of the practical tasks undertaken. Study of the ethics and issues in interpreting and translating formed the theoretical part of the course. As most of the students were from a non-academic background, a polish-up of English reading, writing, and comprehension to an advanced level was necessary. The students also worked with existing first language groups such as language nests, Kohanga Reo and the Asian Women's Support group, practising interpreting skills.

As students were also required to take part in the cultural life of their community, classes often finished late at night. During the course, a Cook Islands language textbook was published and launched as part of the existing Polytech language courses, and students took part in this celebration.

As the course progressed and individual

strengths became obvious, students began to take more responsibility for seeking work opportunities and for publicising the course and the skills they had developed. At the time of writing this article, requests have been made by one government department and two voluntary groups for student services.

The value of the course lay not only in skills gained and the resultant asset to the community, but also in the affirmation of the value of community languages and first language maintenance. The course would not have been possible without a strong commitment on the part of the polytechnic Regional Centre Head, Bev Elder, to the issue of interpreting and translating skills development, and the strong cultural and linguistic network in Tokoroa.

Kay de Ruyter is an ESL tutor at the Tokoroa Centre of Waiariki Polytechnic

A Barracuda or a Long John?

by Wally Lomeli Ranfurly

Most Pacific Islands children learn English as a second language before they come to New Zealand with their families. But conversational, colloquial English comes as a shock. Their confidence suffers a real blow when they discover that what they know is "formal English" — which is vastly different from the way English speakers actually talk. In this story the Wellington Niuean writer Wally Lomeli Ranfurly describes what it is like to be a second language leaner of English newly arrived in New Zealand. The incident upon which the story turns, buying bread at a shop, "speaks" for the much wider experience of learning English all over again, as it is really spoken away from the classroom.
All migrants have stories of things which are strange, confusing, or funny. Teachers can use this story as a good model of how to focus on one incident and build it into a readable account.

When we left Niue in 1960 to come to New Zealand I was very sad because we were leaving our family and friends I'd grown up with. Arriving in Auckland, I was not sure if I was going to like the place. We found a house to rent in Ponsonby.

I'd been taught how to speak English at my school in Niue. But I was about to find out that it wasn't quite the same as the English they spoke in Auckland.

A few days after coming to New Zealand my parents sent me to the shop to get some bread. In those days bread was sold differently to the way it is now. It didn't come pre-sliced in plastic bags. There were different sorts of loaves and each one had a name — but I didn't know that.

When I entered the shop the first thing I said was "hello" to the shopkeeper. After that I asked him for some bread.

"What kind do you want?" he asked. The bread was stacked on the shelves behind him.

I looked at him. I looked at the stacks of bread. I thought for a while. But before I could think of something to say he leaned over the counter and asked me another question.

"Do you want a long john or a barracuda?"

"Oh boy", I thought. I wished I was back in Niue. I backed out of the shop and turned to go home. But what would my parents say? I knew I had to go back in again.

When I entered the shop for a second time the shopkeeper looked at me and gave me a friendly smile. I felt good. Again I asked for some bread. He began to say "barracuda or long ..." Before he could say the second thing I said, "Yes!" He sold me a loaf of bread and I thanked him and walked back home.

"Did they have any bread?" Mum called from the kitchen, when she heard me coming in.

"I bought a barracuda," I called from the hallway.

"Fish!" wailed Mum. After the worry of the move this was the last straw.

"That's okay. I like fish," said Dad, from the other room. By then I'd reached the kitchen and given Mum the loaf of bread and told her what the shopkeeper had called it. We were both laughing. Dad came in to see what we were laughing about. "Where's the barracuda?" he asked.

"Here it is," said Mum with a smile, handing him the loaf of bread.

Reviews

New Language-New Life: A Dream Realised.
Reviewed by Leith Wallace

The video about the operation of the Wellington Home Tutor Language Project is a valuable addition to the growing body of locally produced resource material. Home tutor projects cater for some of newest and least advantaged people in our society: new migrants, often refugees, who as well as a language barrier have often lost the family and support networks available to most of us. Volunteer tutors are trained to work with clients, on a one-to-one basis, with benefits arising for both sides of this partnership.

Several client/tutor pairs are shown working together in the video followed by their comments. There is a Vietnamese woman who gained enough confidence to apply for a job, successfully. There is a tutor, himself unemployed, who speaks of the confidence he gained from tutoring, and of his pride at being able to give something positive to the community. Tutors and clients all speak of the friendships made through participation in the scheme, which means much more than simply learning English.

Judi Altikaya, Co-ordinator of the Wellington Home Tutor Language Project, explains her role on the video and speaks of her concern for the clients' needs. It was a fortunate combination of her talents and energy with a dedicated and skilled group of volunteers which led to the making of the video.

The idea arose from a tutor training session where the trainees watch a BBC video about a Home Tutor Scheme in London suburb. The value of this video lay in the excellent role play demonstration by Denise Gubbay but it always disturbed Judi that all the clients appeared to be from Bangladesh and the tutors middle-aged, middle class women. Judi's apology that the video did not more accurately reflect the local scene was taken up by a trainee in the group. Grahame Scoullar, a film editor with Television New Zealand, offered his expertise and time to work on producing Wellington's own video.

A meeting between Grahame, Judi and the Management Committee decided on what aspects of the service they wished to highlight and what purposes the video would be made for. The brief was quite comprehensive. They wished to show a variety of client levels (beginner to advanced) with a gender balance, and a tutor balance that reflected the volunteer base. The video would be used to give an overview of the Project to prospective tutors, to highlight the special nature of home tutoring and examine why people volunteer to do it, to recruit more tutors by showing it to service clubs and community groups and to raise public awareness (and funding!).

The video meets these goals admirably. It is professionally produced, with good quality pictures and sound. The script written and narrated by TV journalist Mary McCallum, links together several scenes of community classes and an end-of-year celebration, as well as the tutor/client sessions. As the clients and tutors speak for themselves, the success of home tutor schemes and their contribution to the community becomes very apparent.

Home Tutor schemes receive very little official funding. Often the Co-ordinator is the only person receiving a salary, and most co-ordinators are part time. The Wellington scheme was the first to be set up in New Zealand, and is the biggest, with nearly two hundred tutor/client pairs. It has a dedicated network of volunteers who put many hours into this video among other activities of the Project. The skills and talent of the volunteers are the strength of Home Tutor Projects. This video should ensure that these projects continue to grow and to make a very positive contribution to community life in New Zealand.

Copies of the video can be ordered from:
Wellington Home Tutor Language Project, PO Box 6566, Te Aro, Wellington. Price: $35.00 (P&P incl.)

Tomasi: For Islands Far Away
by Dr Harrison Bray. Reviewed by Jim Titchener

This play is about the first missionaries to Tonga and the resultant clash between traditional Tongan and European cultures. The Christian church has since become a major influence in the Pacific Islands, the strength of which is clearly demonstrated when a prominent All Black and the captain of the New Zealand netball team will not play in games scheduled on Sundays. Dr Bray is a former lecturer at Palmerston North Teachers' College and at Massey University. The play was performed at the Fourth Tongan History Conference in Auckland in 1990 and again at Hillary College. A review of that performance is printed below. Enquiries about the play can be directed to Playmarket, Box 9767, Wellington. $15.95.

Tomasi: For Islands Far Away succeeded remarkably when first performed at Hillary College, August 1990. The play, researched and written by Harrison Bray, deals with missionary work in Tonga last century. There have been other successful performances, in Fiji and also in Tonga last year where the play received wholehearted royal acclaim. There is obvious relevance to Tongans in the content of the script, but it has general interest for the South Pacific. Through reference to missionary experience in New

Zealand, the point is made about the need for understanding and respect to be shown to Polynesian cultures. There are interesting and moving human situations developed, while the historical accuracy is maintained.

The original script has been revised in the second edition, giving more scope for stagecraft. Some of the language has been adjusted as a result of the first performance experiences.

Tongan choral singing is a feature of the drama and the baptism scene works as a powerful high point. The use of Tongan costume and tapa can help create a marvellous visual effect. The language of the script is authentic and, although demanding of actors, has poetry and emotive impact.

Responses from students in the cast of the show are of interest:

"I really liked and enjoyed myself while we were doing this play."

"My friends [who watched] told me that the play meant something to them."

"I had endured an interesting and beneficial experience [coping with a long speech]."

"It was a good thing for me to join in the play so I don't have to be ashamed."

"In memory of Halisi's play we painted a mural on a school wall."

"The experience took my feelings and thoughts to a high level."

"*Tomasi* helped me build up confidence within myself."

These students benefited by having the playwright as director. Because they were Tongan they felt close to the play. They also enjoyed the challenge of coping with the language of formal acting with a serious theme.

A question may arise over the play's religious aspect as well as the strong cultural element. The work is intended to be historical, not didactic. The playwright hopes "secular" non-Polynesians will gain an insight into the different values shared by many Polynesian people. There are few dramatic works relating to the South Pacific and this new publication should be valued for its contribution to regional literature. The text is well-supported by background information of use to both directors and teachers.

Jim Titchener is the HOD English, at Hillary College, Otara, Auckland.

First edition Nagare Press 1990. Second edition published by the author 1991.

Discover New Zealand (1992)

by Jacquelyn Arbury. Reviewed by Marilyn Lewis.

For the second time in a year a local ESOL teacher has taken the trouble to develop interesting class materials to the publishing stage. Jacquelyn Arbury's 100 page book *Discover New Zealand* provides task-based resources for "an intermediate level".

A detailed table of contents lists activities as well as topics: "grouping right wing and left wing ideas", "discussing students" previous knowledge of "New Zealand history", "labelling pictures of preschool activities". "User pays" and the selling of state assets appear, as do such specific crimes as shoplifting, burglary, and assault, with messages for the accused and the victim. It would be easy to mention information that could be added (the reality of unemployment comes to mind) but there is no reason why those who notice gaps should not produce a second volume.

Teachers of the growing number of courses offered for short-term visitors to this country will find appropriate material here, as will teachers of permanent residents. Although this book has been prepared as an ESOL resource, a secondary class teacher could use parts of it with classes studying legal topics and consumer issues. Two 60 minute tapes of all information texts and dialogues are also available.

Finally, a word about appearance. The paper is good quality, doing justice to the range of black and white photographs, drawings, and newspaper cuttings. Its soft-covered A4 format makes it portable as well as useful. All those people who have made pleas for locally made materials for their classes now have the chance to support someone whose initiative and hard work have turned a good idea into action.

Published privately. Available from the author at 32 Finch St, Morningside, Auckland. The book costs $22.50 inc. GST, plus P&P. The tapes cost $15.00 inc GST, plus P&P.

Marilyn Lewis is a Senior Lecturer for the Diploma in English Language Teaching, English Department, University of Auckland.

Issues And Options In Language Teaching

by H. H. Stern. Reviewed by Marilyn Lewis.

The book Stern planned as a sequel to *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* has been published posthumously, thanks to the work of two colleagues. It would be easy to respond to a title that includes the words "issues", "options" and "language teaching" by asking what more there could possibly be to say. In 400 or so pages, Stern and his editors have managed to say new things as well as bringing analytical skills to some familiar teaching practices. From his years

of teaching and of guiding the teaching of others, he has provided an overview of the field.

The index points to broad topics (learning to learn, listening, language teaching analysis) as well as specific details (authenticity, jigsaw principle, turn-taking). These reflect the format of the text which moves between figures that set the particular in a general context ("Flexibility options in the second language classroom") and detailed lists ("Second language teaching materials as a component of curriculum").

The substantial section on learning objectives is particularly topical for those who now need to present detailed outlines as part of their course approval. Stern counters "the argument that the specification of objectives is too confining". His suggestion that the element of transfer be added to the traditional categories of objectives seems worth attention.

The chapter on syllabus content includes pronunciation, grammar, communicative activities, and culture but not the planned section on vocabulary. His ideas on the cultural syllabus go beyond the obvious, providing teachers with a yardstick for measuring their own lesson content and methods.

A final section is introduced by the thought that "pedagogy has moved away from the concept of fixed methods". Taking the idea of a continuum, Stern measures teaching strategies in pairs. For example, teachers could try placing their classroom practices on the dimension of explicit to implicit. Some of the details in this last part are both tantalisingly unfinished and yet useful in themselves. Readers may reflect, as I did, on whether their own incomplete plans could be picked up by colleagues and seen through to such a readable conclusion.

There is something here for a range of readers. Coming as it does at the end of a lifetime, it nevertheless points firmly to the future.

Allen, Patrick and Harley, Birgit (eds). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Marilyn Lewis is a Senior Lecturer for the Diploma in English Language Teaching at the University of Auckland

Note

In *Many Voices 2* the publishers of the books reviewed were omitted. *Did You Know? Using Everyday English in New Zealand* was published in 1991 by New House Publishers, Auckland. *An Immigrant Nation* was published in 1990 by Heinemann Education, Auckland.

The article *Respecting the Silences: Recording the Lives of Immigrant Women* referred to Adrienne Jansen's book *I Have In My Arms Both Ways*. This was published in 1990 by Allen and Unwin New Zealand Limited in association with the Port Nicholson Press and is now available through Bridget Williams Books, Box 11-294, Wellington.

MANY VOICES

A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues

Many Voices 4

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February 1993

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Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington

Immigrant Woman

by Maartje Quivooy

Where has my courage gone?
It dwelled before
In abundance
I often had to stop it
From bursting out

Nothing daunted me
This new land
Was there for me to conquer
I threw myself
Wholeheartedly
Into green space

The land of my birth has receded
And is a little spot
On the map of the world.
Why is it then that
Now I'm afraid?

Will I understand
The language
When it is spoken to me?
When I'm as old
As that woman I saw today?

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Introduction

Tena koutou katoa.

Welcome to the first issue of *Many Voices* for 1993. The range of articles in this issue illustrates the diversity involved in educational issues for minority ethnic groups. New migrant adults are concerned with learning English and becoming part of a new society. For their New Zealand-born children English comes more easily, and the concern is to maintain the parents' language and the feelings of identity which come with it.

Janet Holmes' article discusses concerns across this range and looks at the vital role of women in kôhanga reo and the revitalisation of te reo Maori. Hineihaea Murphy and Mike Hollings look at the challenge facing children and teachers in kura kaupapa Maori. Other articles look at working with adults and at bringing parents into the life of the school. Literacy for early childhood and at secondary school is discussed, and the article on the Assyrian Christians briefly introduces one of New Zealand's smallest and newest communities. Each article contributes a viewpoint on an aspect of education in New Zealand; responses to these articles are welcomed, as are further articles on these topics.

The articles by Janet Holmes, Hineihaea Murphy and Mike Hollings, Feaua'i Burgess, Julie Grenfell and Barbara Johnston, the teachers from Hagley Community College, and Elizabeth Alkass and Margaret Ishaia are edited versions of papers presented at the Third National Conference on Community Languages and English Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) held in Auckland in August 1992.

Leith Wallace

Women's Role in Promoting Bilingualism

by Janet Holmes

I recently spent a few weeks in Australia where I took the opportunity to talk to researchers interested in the maintenance of community languages. One Sunday afternoon I visited a lovely beach a little south of Sydney. While I was sitting in the sun an Italian couple and their parents strolled past: first the men, elderly father-in-law and middle-aged son — both talking mainly English; the son with a native-sounding Australian accent, the father with an Italian Australian accent. They were followed by an Italian woman and her mother — both talking in Italian. This little vignette could just as easily have taken place along Oriental Parade in Wellington, with a New Zealand Greek family interacting in the ways I observed. The pattern of males talking English while women prefer the ethnic or community language is often observed, but just how typical is it of different new settler groups? How can it be explained? And what are the implications of these patterns for immigrant families who want the third generation to be bilingual?

New Settler Women Maintain the Community Language Better Than Men

On the whole, among ethnic communities of new settlers in Australia and New Zealand, women tend to maintain their ethnic or community language better than men do. There is not a great deal of research in this area, but Australian researchers have been more interested than most in gender differences in language maintenance and shift.

First, let's look at the new settlers themselves — usually called the first generation. Ruth Johnston noted twenty years ago in the Australian Polish community she was studying that the new settler women were maintaining Polish better than the men. The men were shifting to English more quickly. And subsequent Australian studies confirmed this pattern in a number of other new settler communities, such as the Dutch community in Australia.

When we look at the few New Zealand studies which consider this issue, we find the same pattern. The new settler women in the Wellington communities researched by students at Victoria, for example, appear to be maintaining the community language better than their men. This is true for the Cantonese Chinese community studied by Mary Roberts, and the Greek community studied by Maria Verivaki, and it seems likely to prove true for the Gujerati Indian community which Mary Roberts is currently researching, and for the Fiji Hindi community which Nikhat Shameem has been investigating. In the first generation of new settler communities in Australia and New Zealand, it seems that women generally maintain the ethnic language better than men.

Why Should This Be?

A number of explanations have been proffered — all closely related:

- women are linguistically more conservative than men;
- women are less adventurous than men and don't get out into the new society;
- women intermarry less than men.

Consider first the claim that women are linguistically more conservative than men. This explanation has been put forward to account for differences between women's and men's linguistic behaviour in a variety of contexts. Otto Jespersen asserted that women were conservative in their speech, compared with men, in his notorious chapter "The Woman", in his book *Language: its nature, development and origin*, published in 1922. Fifty years later Peter Trudgill noted that in a number of native American Indian monolingual communities where there were differences between women's ways of talking and men's speech, the differences could be accounted for by the fact that the women's speech forms were the "older" forms. Mary Ritchie Key comments on similar patterns in some Bantu languages where "the women maintain very old forms of the language". Noting similar patterns in western communities led Trudgill to suggest that women were linguistically more conservative than men, a claim which has been often repeated by later researchers in the area of language and gender. It is also often implicit in discussions of the language behaviour of new settler women, which suggest they cling to older and more familiar ways of doing things, and are reluctant to change their speech habits.

The claim that women are the linguistic conservatives is obviously consistent with the second claim that women are less adventurous than men and resist going out into the new wider society they have joined. This explanation presents men as brave and intrepid pioneers who venture out into the alien community searching for work to sustain their families. In order to do this they must learn English. Women, by contrast, stay home and look after the family — whether aged parents or young children, or both. They do not mix with English speakers in the new society and so they are able to continue to operate with their ethnic language, and do not experience any great need to learn English. Indeed, these first

generation new settler women are generally represented as poor learners of English.

The third explanation which has been suggested for the pattern of greater language shift among first generation male new settlers than among females is that men marry outside their ethnic group more than women do. Once again this is consistent with the view of woman as basically conservative, while men are more adventurous — they find not only jobs, but also wives in the new, wider community they have joined.

There is certainly some evidence for all three of these claims, though I would want to interpret it rather more positively. These three explanations present women's behaviour rather negatively: women are regarded as passive beings who lack initiative, and who are very secluded and sequestered. But one can view their behaviour differently.

Firstly, it is very obvious that in many new settler communities, it is traditionally the women's role, not only to take care of the children and the old people, but also to educate the children in matters relating to ethnic traditions and values. This is clearly true for the Chinese community in Wellington, for instance, and for the New Zealand Gujerati Indian community. It is also true for the Wellington Greek community and the Fijian Hindi community. Maintenance of the ethnic culture, including religious practices in some communities, is regarded as the woman's responsibility. And it is her responsibility, too, to transmit these values and appropriate knowledge of the cultural traditions to the children. Within the community, then, women are perceived as conservative in a very positive sense: their role is to conserve and transmit important components of the distinctive culture of the community, often including the language, to the next generation. This is obviously one factor, then, which accounts for the greater use of the ethnic or community language by first generation new settler women compared to their menfolk.

If the women's role is often in the home, the man's role is to seek work. Clearly this encourages a greater use of English by new settler men than by women. But it should also be noted that new settler women are increasingly obliged to work in order for the family to manage financially. It seems, from the little evidence we have, that new settler women tend to work with other women from their own ethnic group, in factories, or cleaning jobs, or in bakeries at night, as 'Anahina 'Aipolo documents for the Tongan women she interviewed. In such jobs, with workmates from the same ethnic and language background, they are able to use their ethnic language at work — an option which is much less available to men who are more often employed in jobs where English is required. It is worth noting, however, that Samoan women in New Zealand apparently do not fit this pattern. Pilkington comments that the Samoan women she interviewed were regarded as more proficient speakers of English than their husbands, and Jamieson comments on their role in preparing their children for the English-speaking world. This suggests, then, that for some groups there might be another picture of women's role in language maintenance and shift to be considered.

Even when new settlers establish a small retail business, and the women work part-time in the shop, the amount of English required is often minimal. Maria Verivaki's Greek-speaking mother, for instance, worked in their family fish and chip shop, but she tended to cook rather than serve, and she knew only a small smattering of English phrases relating to the orders customers gave. In the shop she was clearly playing a secondary and supportive role. Her primary role was in the family home, where she raised her children with a strong sense of their Greek ethnicity and cultural heritage, their membership of the Greek orthodox church, and a knowledge of the Greek language.

So, overall, these first generation, Australasian, new settler women are the ethnic language models and major sources of linguistic input in the ethnic language for their children. The men are the main source of English in the home.

This is one view of women's role in language maintenance and shift. The picture is overwhelmingly one of women as a conservative force — maintaining the community language and conserving the ethnic traditions and values of the community. Now, let me turn to evidence that women play a rather different role in some communities.

Women's Role in Language Change

Describing language change in Oberwart, a town on the border of Hungary and Austria, Susan Gal presents a fascinating account of women's role in language shift from Hungarian, the traditional language of this formerly farming peasant community, to German, the language of employment in the new commercial and industrial ventures which are providing an alternative to the back-breaking drudgery of farming, not just for men, but for women too. "Peasant men can't get wives" is the title of her article on language shift in Oberwart, a town on the Austrian border with Hungary. And the reasons are all too obvious. As Gal says: "The peasant wife typically spends the day doing farm work: milking, feeding pigs, hoeing, planting and harvesting potatoes and a few other root crops. Her evenings are spent doing housework."

She works a great deal harder than her peasant husband. By contrast, if she were the wife of an industrial or commercial worker, she would probably have a part-time job at most, and plenty of time for housework and a little gardening. Oberwart women, Gal comments "do not want to be peasants· they do not present themselves as peasants in speech". In other words, they speak German rather than Hungarian, the symbol of peasant status.

Another community where the same pattern is obvious is the community of Ucieda in northern Spain, where John Holmquist tells basically the same story. "Many women, it seems, simply will not marry worker/farmers or live in farming villages.... For young women, the prospect of being stuck at home with the cows and the children while their husbands are away, as happened to their mothers, typically wives of working dairy farmers, isn't very attractive."

The attitudes of these young women is also clearly reflected in their speech patterns. They use more standard (Castilian) Spanish features and fewer dialectal forms than young men of the same age, despite the fact that through travel, military service, and work outside their community, the men have greater exposure to standard Spanish. The women are signalling their social goals through their language patterns.

The women in these communities are in the forefront of language change; their enthusiastic adoption of the "new" language or language forms reflects their perception that this is the key which will enable them to escape the labour-intensive, dirty, and soul-destroying work which will inevitably be their lot if they stay home.

Second Generation New Settlers

This contrasting pattern of women as linguistic innovators, rather than women as a conservative force, becomes apparent in the second generation of new settlers in countries like Australia and New Zealand. As Anne Pauwels suggests: "Whereas women in the first generation seem to resist language shift more than men, women in the second generation (of certain immigrant groups) may be leading language change."

These second generation women, then, appear to be the innovators, the language brokers, the linguistic entrepreneurs. This enthusiastic adoption of English presumably reflects their perceptions of what the new society has to offer women. They see English as a means of escape from the rather restricting confines of the female role in the traditional society from which their parents came. Indeed, this interpretation has led to their being criticised by some for being too ready to embrace the values of the wider society. Noting the fact that census data suggests that second generation women in some groups tend to lead the shift to English, some researchers have lambasted them for threatening the maintenance of their minority language. Since this pattern of faster shift to English is more evident in groups where the women have lower status than the women in the majority culture, it has been suggested that these women see English as an escape from their down-trodden position. It is suggested that they readily embrace English, which offers them new roles and status, and abandon their ethnic language, which is associated with repression and low status.

Truly women are in a double bind — damned as conservative if they maintain their ethnic language, damned as traitors if they learn English too well. In fact, all the evidence suggests that such criticism is totally unjustified. The remarkable thing is that these second generation women are generally **bilingual**. It is only ethnocentric values which assume that proficiency in English necessarily means abandonment of the community language. Although these women are leading in the acquisition of English, it is not necessarily the case that they are losing the community language at a faster rate. And, in fact, what little evidence there is suggests this is not the case. Many second generation women are maintaining the community language as well as acquiring proficiency in English. These women are proficient bilinguals.

In New Zealand, too, the second generation of ethnic minority groups are typically bilingual — proficient both in English and the ethnic or community language. There are no reported differences between the sexes in their English proficiency, but where differences in proficiency in the ethnic or community language occur, it tends to be women who are maintaining the community language most actively and effectively.

So it seems from the available Australasian evidence that:

- second generation immigrant women are at least as proficient in English as their male counterparts, and that they are often perceived as leading language shift to English;
- where there are differences between women and men in proficiency in the ethnic language, it is the women who are generally maintaining the ethnic language best.

Why Are Women More Likely to be Bilingual?

I want to suggest two interrelated reasons why women often maintain the community language better than men. Firstly, women's patterns of language use and their social networks tend to favour greater use of the ethnic or community language than men's do. Secondly, women's perception of the functions and value of the

community language tend to support its continued use. I will comment on each of these.

Social Networks and Uses of Community Language

From the Australasian studies which have been undertaken, it seems clear that second generation new settler women are using more of the community language than the men. Exposure to English in the wider community is sufficient to ensure that both sexes achieve similar proficiency in English, but the women are likely to be more proficient bilinguals because they need to use more of the community language. They need it in the home because, like their mothers, second generation new settler women generally take primary responsibility for the very young and the very old, for child-rearing and for care of elderly parents. Both these responsibilities tend to favour the use of the community language. Their mothers are often virtually monolingual, and so the community language is the natural language to use with them. And there is generally an expectation that the children will acquire at least some proficiency in the community language before they start school. It is clear that even among second generation new settlers, women are still regarded as the main conduit of ethnic values and practices for the third generation. Describing the Chinese community she studied, Mary Roberts says, for instance, that, "Cantonese is connected with 'traditional Cantonese family values', highly regarded by the community, and that women more than men are seen, by themselves and by men, as the first guardians of those values."

Women also tend to make or take more opportunities than do their menfolk to use the community language outside the home — at church, for instance (which women generally attend more regularly than men), and at a wide range of community events. Overall, it seems that women's social networks are more likely than men's to favour maintenance of the community language.

In the course of a social dialect survey which we completed recently in Porirua, we collected some evidence that strong social networks can contribute not only to language maintenance, but also to language revitalisation. As one component of the survey, we collected information on reported levels of Maori language proficiency and use of Maori, as well as attitudes to Maori language maintenance. None of the scores for Maori language proficiency were very high, but in this community too, the women appear to be using the heritage language more than the men, and the Maori women reported higher levels of comprehension of Maori and overall better speaking abilities in Maori than the Maori men.

In order to explore the factors which contributed to this pattern, Mary Boyce designed a "network strength score" to measure the degree of integration of individuals into the Maori community. The score was based on a number of criteria, such as whether a respondent had kinship links in the community, whether they lived in a predominantly Maori neighbourhood, whether they mixed with Maori people in their leisure time, and whether they were involved in any way with a marae. We found that this index of how well people were integrated into their local Maori network was a good indicator of their level of Maori language proficiency. In general, the higher the network score, the better a person's reported level of Maori language proficiency.

Overall, in Porirua, the Maori women had significantly higher network strength scores than the men. This is consistent, of course, with informal observations that women are frequently very involved in contributions to marae hospitality — cooking, serving guests, and participating in cultural-group practices and performances. They are also generally more heavily involved than men in learning and teaching traditional Maori crafts, and in learning and teaching the Maori language. It is women who are the mainstay of the kōhanga reo and the kura kaupapa. It is not surprising, then, that their more frequent contact with the marae and, in some cases, with the kōhanga reo, and through this with other Maori women, has resulted in a higher level of reported Maori language proficiency. Regular mixing with Maori people in Maori settings provides greater opportunities of exposure to Maori and greater opportunities to use Maori, even if it is only a little.

Here, then, we have further evidence that women are leading language change, as well as some indications of how the language revitalisation is being achieved. In discussions of the relative success of the movement to revitalise Maori, there has been much informal comment and anecdotal evidence that, among adults, women are learning the language more successfully than men. Mary Boyce's data provides support for this impression, and suggests that Maori women are leading in attempts to revive knowledge of a proficiency in Maori language. Overall, then, the character of women's social networks and the greater opportunities they provide to use the community language help account for the women's language proficiency.

Functions of the Community Language

The second major factor which I propose contributes to the relative success of second generation new settler women in maintaining the

community language is their perception of the importance of the functions and values expressed by that language.

It seems likely that women are especially sensitive to the symbolic values expressed by language. By "symbolic values" I mean not only the significance of a particular language as what has been called a "core value" of a particular culture or ethnic group, but also the more socio-psychological functions served by particular uses of language in interpersonal interaction in different contexts. It has been widely recognised by linguists that language serves a range of functions and there are many taxonomies of such functions. For the purposes of this discussion, I will refer to just two functions — the instrumental, and the interpersonal (or social/affective) functions of language. Language which enables you to get a job, to communicate with a government official, or to understand the teacher in school is serving an instrumental function. Language which enables you to maintain good social relations, to tell a friend how you are feeling, to pay a compliment, make an apology, or issue an invitation is serving an interpersonal or affective function. For monolinguals, these functions are served by different styles or registers of one language. For bilinguals, these functions are often expressed by different languages: a first generation Greek New Zealander, for instance, will certainly prefer to use Greek for expressing affective meaning, while English will be essential for many instrumental purposes.

I want to suggest that women may be particularly aware of the richness offered in this area by the diverse linguistic repertoire of the bilingual. New Zealanders who are familiar with an ethnic language often comment on the emotional colour and depth which the ethnic language adds to any interaction; English does not have the same cultural reverberations for these bilinguals, and is not felt to express affective meaning as adequately as the ethnic or community language.

There are plenty of examples from research on bilinguals' use of their two languages demonstrating how effectively they exploit the different connotations and values of each language. This example shows how three-year-old Tom's big sister, Sarah, uses Chinese to persuade him to co-operate.

Sarah. "It's my turn to read that book now Tom."
Tom. "No, I want to keep it."
Sarah (*in Chinese*). "Come on Tom, give it to big sister."
Tom (*in Chinese*). "But you give it back soon, won't you."
Sarah. "Yes, don't worry. Soon you can have it back."

Chinese has positive emotional associations for Tom because it was the language used by his first care-giver, of whom he was very fond. Sarah exploits these positive connotations with skill to get her way in this exchange. The example nicely illustrates Sarah's sensitivity to the affective meaning conveyed by Chinese for her brother.

Second generation immigrant women are also likely to be particularly aware of the social functions of the community language in maintaining contact with grandparents and elders in the community. For them, regular communication with their mothers — many of whom are, or were, effectively monolingual in the community language — has ensured that they have retained that language. Their wish and need for that continued contact is a strong incentive to maintain the community language. These women can, no doubt, see the prospect of their mothers being cut off from satisfying communication with their grandchildren if the community language disappears from the children's repertoire. Given the fact that women tend to put a great deal of emphasis on the use of language for interpersonal contact, for "rapport", talk, and social interaction, it is likely that they would perceive such a loss as a grave one.

Clearly, the two factors I have discussed here as potential contributors to community language maintenance are closely related. The importance attached to the functions and values expressed by a language underpin and motivate its use. Positive attitudes to the community language and a strong sense of its importance in expressing interpersonal and affective meaning provide reasons for its continued use in social interaction in a range of contexts with a variety of network contacts. This, perhaps, helps explain the fact that, while these women see English as their major means of succeeding in the majority community in terms of education and employment and therefore they will acquire English, and acquire it well, they will not necessarily see abandonment of the community language as an inevitable corollary. Rather than an "either/or" option, these women have selected the emotionally and socially more satisfying "both/and" option. If women's values and perceptions of the functions of the ethnic or community language were given more status, then the value of the ethnic language to the community as a whole could survive beyond the third generation.

Language Maintenance Steps

The recently published Waite report on the development of a New Zealand language policy [*Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves — A Discussion*

on the Development of a New Zealand Languages Policy] clearly states that the language maintenance efforts of new settlers should be supported. "To ensure that children from non-English-speaking backgrounds have the opportunity to maintain their first language into adulthood support is needed for parents who want to maintain the language in the home setting, for linguistic communities who take the initiative to establish their own language programmes, as well as for schools who choose to introduce community languages into their curricula."

I have argued that many second generation new settler women are aware that it is important for their psychological and social wellbeing that they maintain the community language. Consequently they are bilingual. But given what we know of the patterns that are emerging for the third generation of many ethnic minority groups in New Zealand, they apparently do not have the confidence needed to ensure their children are also going to end up bilingual. The social and psychological reasons that I have suggested sustained their own bilingualism are often perceived as "soft", or insubstantial, compared to the hard-edged instrumental reasons for learning English in a country like New Zealand.

How can we provide support for women who would like to teach their children their community language but who, perhaps, lack the rhetoric to convince their families, and the courage and sheer dogged persistence required to persist in using the community language in the home, day in and day out, despite the inevitable complaints from their children, and regardless of the fact that they will constantly be answered and addressed in English once the first child starts school?

This is where we can look at Maori women for a model. There is no doubt that Maori women appreciate the affective and symbolic value of a knowledge of Maori. But they have been convinced that bilingualism will benefit their children, not only psychologically and socially, but also culturally, educationally, and cognitively. They believe a knowledge of Maori will be a blessing to their children which will affirm their cultural identity, which can help them develop cognitive flexibility and so benefit them educationally, and which will assist them in obtaining employment. Consequently, the practical work of language revitalisation in the Maori community has been largely the result of the efforts of women. It is generally acknowledged that women have been the movers and shakers in the kôhanga reo movement. Similarly, the hard work of day-to-day teaching in the kura kaupapa is disproportionately carried by Maori women, according to Katarina Mataira, who taught at the first of these at Hoani Waititi marae. The efforts of such women are the backbone of the Maori revitalisation movement and we should celebrate these women's contributions — and learn from them. (I would like here to acknowledge my debt to Katarina Mataira, who generously discussed with me the issues covered in this section.)

It is important to empower new settler women by providing them with the arguments and the support required to ensure their children too are "blessed with bilingual brains". If they are to have the courage to maintain the community language despite the inroads of the majority language, these women will certainly need support. They will need to be convinced, as Maori women have been, that bilingualism is good for their children, not just for the affective and social reasons which motivated their own bilingualism, but also for reasons which will convince a generation brought up in the context of a market-place philosophy. As the Waite report says:

"The development of English language competence ought to go hand in hand with the maintenance of these children's first language. Bilingualism (with maintenance of the first language) fulfils many goals, including the reinforcement of family structure, strengthening of individual and group identity, enhancement of educational achievement, and contributing to the pool of New Zealanders able to use languages other than English. It would be foolish to let this resource go to waste."

If we look at maintenance of community languages as socially desirable, and as an objective the society as a whole should endorse, then institutional support, through the education system for instance, is an obvious source of assistance to parents wishing to produce bilingual children. Schools which offer the opportunity to learn through the medium of languages other than English, even if only part of the time, would greatly bolster the efforts of mothers in the home to increase the number of bilingual New Zealand citizens. This is an important goal for those of us who wish to erode the depressing monolingualism of our education system. But it will take time. And in the meantime potential bilinguals are disappearing at a rate of knots. What can an individual parent do in such circumstances?

What Can Individuals Do to Help Their Children Become Bilingual?

Those most vulnerable to loss of the ethnic language are children of ethnically-mixed marriages. This is the worst case scenario for the budding bilingual infant. In most families where one parent comes from the English-speaking majority group and the other from a minority ethnic group, the children will almost always end up monolingual in English. But there are

exceptions. Some families are successful in producing bilingual children within a predominantly monolingual society. So what characterises these exceptions? Why are they able to achieve what others cannot?

First, they are totally convinced that what they are doing is for the children's benefit. They **know** that their children will be better off bilingual. This gives them the determination to keep using the community language in the home despite all the odds.

Secondly, many successfully use the "one-person-one-language" principle which is very suitable in situations where the first language of mother and father are different. Using the one-person-one-language method has the great advantage that there is never any doubt about which language to use in any particular context or situation. There are many family variations on the basic pattern but, as a general rule, the parent who is the resource for the children's input in the ethnic language uses it to them consistently. Though this is reasonably easy in the home, it is not so easy outside. Yet some families maintain the pattern in all contexts, public and private. Even when guests are present, that parent addresses the child in the ethnic language.

The Australian George Saunders, in his readable books about bringing up children to be bilingual, promises some interesting experiences for parents using this method. Saunders also warns that some children go through (often quite long) phases of responding in English, but that it is very important that, despite this, the parent continues to respond in the ethnic language. Because this is very hard, in order to do so the parent has to have the courage of their conviction that what they are doing is for the child's good. Remembering that they are the sole source of input in the ethnic language helps too. Which brings me to the third reason why some families are more successful than others in this area.

A third factor contributing to speedy and successful language acquisition is the quality of the linguistic input. In order to learn a language well, in circumstances where one person may be almost the sole source of linguistic input, it is important to ensure that the quality of the linguistic interaction between the parent and child is good. One description of good quality input is child-centred, interactive language which provides plenty of opportunities for the child to hear, respond, and practise the language. The adult's role is to co-operate with the child in order to facilitate language learning. Dopke claims, for example, on the basis of her research, that German-speaking parents in Australia whose linguistic interaction and play with their children in German was characterised by (unconscious?) teaching techniques such as modeling (that is, paraphrase), "rehearsing" (practising), and "eliciting", were most likely to succeed in maintaining German and producing bilingual children. Gordon Wells points out that care-givers who interact meaningfully with their children and respond encouragingly to children's attempts to use language in interaction become intuitively sensitive to the child's language learning needs at any particular time. The most effective teachers, he says, work by "listening attentively in order to understand the child's meaning, and then seeking to extend and develop it". Children's language learning thrives in a responsive environment.

High-quality interaction can make up for the fact that the child will not hear much of the language in the community outside the home — though, obviously, participation in community events or religious services where the language is used will provide additional support. As Fishman comments, the home and the neighbourhood are among the "main arteries" of a community language, and efforts to stop the "haemorrhaging" of these arteries must be regarded as a priority in language maintenance efforts.

Finally, a family concerned with fostering bilingualism can build strong social networks of people and places where the children will be able to use their ethnic or community language and will be rewarded for their bilingual skills. The case studies described by Harding and Riley, and by Saunders, repeatedly point to the pride that bilingual people develop in their bilingualism when they find that others admire their skills. All too often, potentially bilingual children from minority ethnic groups conceal their knowledge of the community language, as if it were a stigma rather than a source of pride. The admiration of peers and the expectations of valued adults can be a powerful incentive to children to continue to use and develop their community-language proficiency. Strong social networks which provide regular sources of such admiration and appropriate neighbourhood contexts for using the language can be a great asset in developing bilingualism. And an admiring and appreciative grandmother is a good start.

This is where women can play an important part. Women who want to bring up bilingual children can take heart from this data. They are already in a strong position, since their skills in the ethnic or community language are generally good — largely thanks to their mothers, in many cases. So they know it can be done. And through their shared involvement with children and elderly parents, with religious activities and community social events, women tend to have strong network links with other women in the ethnic community. All these can assist language

maintenance. But, in addition, they will benefit from support from teachers and others in the wider society to help them persist in their efforts. Perhaps some ear-catching slogans would help.

"Blessed with bilingual brains."
"You're better off if you're bilingual."
"Bilingualism is better."
"Bilingualism is beautiful."

But, as I have suggested in this paper, many second generation new settler women have already two essential ingredients in any campaign to preserve a threatened language:

- Through their own bilingualism they have personal evidence that the slogans are accurate.
- Through their personal experience they understand that language serves many functions and that there are consequently many and varied reasons for preserving languages.

Alongside the market-oriented economic reasons which tend to appeal to politicians, women can testify to the value of the social and affective functions of community languages as equally important and effective reasons for community language maintenance.

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Speaking Maori: A Study of Children's Language

by Hineihaea Murphy and Mike Hollings

This study looked at the Maori language ability of children in a total immersion programme. It makes a valuable contribution to an area which needs further study. However, as the writers state, carrying out research of this sort poses its own problems.

Many teachers in Maori language total immersion programmes have expressed concern that their pupils develop aberrant grammatical forms that become fossilised. They have also reported that in the early stages their learners progress quickly but then reach a plateau from which they have difficulty progressing further. The aim of this project was to begin an analysis of this interlanguage to see if there is any consistency in the stages that learners go through. Out of this information it is hoped that a grammar checklist, based on the natural order of acquisition, can be developed to assist teachers in their planning. This type of checklist would then enable teachers to determine the most appropriate stages to teach particular grammatical items and when to simply tolerate errors.

It is acknowledged that the study of interlanguage is much wider than an analysis of grammatical features. A full study should also include a phonological analysis and an analysis of the ways learners express language functions. However, that is beyond the scope of this project.

Context

The project was based on a kura kaupapa Maori situated in a community whose overall urban population includes approximately 15-17 percent Maori. The number of fluent second-language Maori speakers in the area is minimal, and fewer still are the number of native speakers.

There is a growing interest in the revival of Maori language, with the establishment of four kōhanga reo in the area which service the kura kaupapa Maori. One of the other local primary schools also offers an immersion programme. A local intermediate school runs a form of bilingual programme and one of the high schools has a bilingual programme which some of the graduates of the kura kaupapa Maori now attend.

The kura kaupapa Maori has a roll of thirty-one children aged between five and eleven years old. All of the children on whom the research was based had attended kōhanga reo for periods of time varying from eight months to four years. Although it is not a policy at the kura that children had to have attended kōhanga, it is obviously a preference. All parents acknowledged that a kōhanga reo experience had enriched their children's language ability.

Sixteen families comprise the whanau group of the kura. Of those families only six parents identified themselves as being fluent Maori speakers, and of those six, only three speak Maori consistently to their children. A further two parents classified themselves as relatively fluent. Other parents considered themselves to be able to speak only a little Maori or none at all. This, therefore, suggests that for the majority of pupils the only language models come from within the school setting. So the children learn from teachers, who themselves are second-language learners of Maori, and from the kaiawhina i te reo, who is the only consistent native-speaking role model at the kura.

But just as influential in the teaching mode are the children themselves, who are constantly learning from each other. Although this would appear to reflect a natural learning environment, there is some concern as to the extent that this encourages the fossilisation of negative transfer and other incorrect grammatical forms.

The policy at the kura is that no English is spoken in the school by anyone, at any time. This policy includes visitors to the kura. Whanau

meetings, where English tends to be spoken, are therefore held off school grounds. The one exception to this rule is in the office area, where English is sometimes spoken. However, in the kura, there is never time that children need to be exposed to English.

There have been cases where outside specialist tutors have been required for activities such as outdoor recreation. These types of activities take place off the school grounds and instructions are translated into Maori by one of the teachers.

The older children at the kura are taking English lessons once a week with a Maori tutor. They are required to take this tuition outside school hours, and off the school grounds.

Despite the kura's strong commitment to this policy, one of the most disheartening things is that English is still frequently heard being spoken by the children in the playground if teachers aren't present. This is also sometimes the case in the classroom, but much less frequently so.

Methodology

In order to carry out the research to meet the aims of the project, which were basically to identify and describe the interlanguage of children involved in Maori immersion schooling, we employed the aid of students on the Diploma of Bilingual Education course at the Wairarapa Community Polytechnic, who are certificated teachers and familiar with the children and school on which this research is based. The teachers at the kura also delivered some of the exercises used in the project.

A number of activities, which focused on oral, written, and listening skills, and which required both concrete and abstract thought were used. The first of these was based on a McLachlan chart where, either individually or in pairs, children's verbal descriptions of the chart were recorded on audio tape and later transcribed for analysis.

The second activity required the learners to paraphrase a short story written in Maori and read to them several times over a period of four to five days. The story chosen was selected for its variety of language in terms of lexical items and grammatical features.

The third activity required the learners to write a description of their favourite fantasy place. They were encouraged to describe this place and their activities there in some detail.

The final exercise carried out with the learners as part of the research project involved a record of oral language, whereby the learners individually were read a selection of sentences and required to repeat each sentence. The sentences began as simple grammatical structures and gradually became more complex during the exercise. The assumption was that the learner would be able to repeat with little or no difficulty those sentences which displayed the grammatical structures already internalised by the child. The reading was done by a native speaker working at the school as a Kaiarahi Reo.

Parents of the children involved in the project were interviewed, to ascertain the sociolinguistic background of the learners and any variables for consideration in the final analysis of the data.

Difficulties Encountered

As with any research reliant on the participation of several groups of people this project was no different in the volume and variety of difficulties encountered. There appear to be some intrinsic problems with research of this kind. The initial difficulty was one of convincing and reassuring the school community of the need for such research, their anonymity, and that the results would be used ultimately to benefit the subjects. The issue of putting a community under a microscope, for any reason, and analysing the results, is always a large one for a people whose past experiences with research of any kind has lead to their exploitation. This research was viewed no differently, despite the fact that Maori were doing the research primarily to meet Maori needs.

An additional concern of the parents of the children at the kura was that, because this initiative is new and has not yet had sufficient time to justify itself, premature research may work against the whole movement into immersion education.

A further problem encountered was the lack of experience of the researchers in the delivery, recording, and analysis of the data. Linked closely to this was the problem of determining the methodology, in order to ensure the validity of results.

What we were able to test was largely related to the children's language performance, rather than their competence. The results showed more of what they knew, rather than what they didn't know, although a lot of what they did know, as reported by their teachers, was not demonstrated in the research. It became quite clear that written language alone doesn't illustrate the extent of one's language proficiency.

Furthermore, the language and grammatical structures employed by the children appeared to be restricted, to an extent, by the topics selected for them to write or speak about. This seemed to be the case in spite of the fact that a lot of time was spent considering the appropriateness and versatility of topics so as to avoid that situation.

The intrinsic difficulty of the tasks themselves presented some problems. Because the learners had not encountered these types of exercises previously, their language performance seemed to

be hindered by their lack of skills in performing the task at hand. The children also had a real desire to write verbatim what was being read to them, rather than look for the general concepts and sequence of events contained within the story. Hence, at times, it was difficult to ascertain if a poor result was due to poor language ability or to poor memory. This was the case with the paraphrasing exercise.

What appeared at first to the learners to be experiments soon lost their appeal, and the children's initial inquisitiveness and excitement at being given so much attention began to wane as they viewed the exercises as never-ending tests. No matter how much reassurance they were given that the tasks were not actually tests their anxiety levels didn't seem to lower.

As well as all these problems, which were entrenched in the gathering of the data, the actual analysis of the material also brought with it some difficulties. Transcribing hours of dialogue is a menial and unenviable task, especially when you discover that the learner hasn't actually been facing the microphone or projecting her voice to a level which even a high-quality tape recorder can pick up. What is more, the lack of context created by penning the utterances removed their value, and made it difficult to determine whether a grammatically incorrect statement was firstly, an actual error or merely a mistake, and secondly, whether the error was covert or not.

Any future research would need to be based more on the analysis of an individual's linguistic competence in a wider range of communicative situations. Ultimately, this would require a researcher to observe and record a learner for lengthy periods of time in the playground, in the home, and in the classroom.

Discussion of the Results

While this project focused on what the children use incorrectly or do not use at all, it should be acknowledged that there is a lot that they do use. What impressed the researchers was that, even though the children's language to the native-speaker ear would appear to be quite aberrant, they are very communicative, showing the ability to express themselves reasonably coherently in most situations.

In spite of this, there was a concern that the lack of sophistication of the children's language may not enable them to pursue intellectually demanding tasks that will enable them to develop the higher metacognative levels of thinking essential for success in an academic world.

What this project has demonstrated is that the interlanguage of these children follows the same pattern as that which Corder has identified in other second-language learners. That is, that the language which is constructed by the learner is internally consistent, and that they progress through developmental stages in a predictable way. Many aspects of the results of this project have also been affirmed by anecdotal evidence reported from other teachers in total immersion programmes.

The record of oral language indicated that although the children did not use certain grammatical forms, the forms were part of their overall linguistic competence, in that the children were able to repeat them, if not word perfectly, certainly using structure and vocabulary that gave the same meaning. To test this out, some children were asked to explain the meanings of some of the sentences that are not normally spoken by them. In all cases they were able to rephrase the sentences in ways that stayed within the general meaning.

This is quite remarkable, given that the majority of the children's linguistic input comes solely from the teacher, with little or no reinforcement from outside the school.

The Effects of Teaching

Although it appears that teaching grammar has little effect on the learner's oral performance, there are certainly positive effects when teachers have time to monitor, as is the case with written language. In fact, the teacher indicated that there were many more errors that were characteristic of the children's language but which are no longer present. She attributed this directly to teaching grammar.

Conclusion

The findings from this project are still very tentative and need much refining. Before any firm conclusions can be drawn there needs to be further study with larger cohorts at each development level. However, these tentative results indicate that the children easily master the basic structures and, even though some of their utterances are grammatically incorrect, they are able to operate effectively at a basic interpersonal communication level. What is lacking is the subtlety of the language that will ultimately enable these children to articulate their higher-level thoughts. If immersion programmes are unable to achieve this, children will be forced to revert to English when they are involved in cognitively demanding situations; already this is the case with the older children in this study. Their linguistic growth is not keeping pace with their cognitive development. It is therefore not surprising that they revert to English when they are out of ear-shot of any adults.

The development of a grammatical checklist will give teachers guidelines as to what their children should be achieving at certain developmental stages and, hopefully, will help in ensuring that the children's linguistic and cognitive growth develops hand in hand. In stating this, it is acknowledged that this is only one small area that needs to be developed to help teachers improve their children's language.

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Hinethaea Murphy and Mike Hollings are tutors at the Wairarapa Community Polytechnic in Masterton. A full copy of this paper with analysis of the results is available from the writers or from the editor of *Many Voices*.

Who Talks About What?

by Marilyn Lewis

This discussion of the language of a home tutor lesson was presented in a workshop at the Home Tutor Conference in Wanganui, May 1992.

Communication between two people is an exchange. In looking at the idea of "exchange", I want to focus on these questions:

- How natural is the language that tutor and student exchange during the lesson?
- What policy can a home tutor have about errors?
- What is the actual content of the talk in the lessons?
- How is the talking time divided between tutor and learner?

Naturalness of Language

Every situation involves its own special way of talking. In the course of one day we may deal with our families, use public transport, meet strangers, or work with colleagues. The language will be slightly different in each exchange. No way will be more or less natural than any other way; each is appropriate for each occasion.

Let's look at the home tutoring situation. It is an occasion in itself, but it is also a preparation for other occasions, formal and informal, planned and spontaneous. Where does the home tutor lesson fit in terms of formality or spontaneity? How equal are the exchanges between tutor and learner?

It's not always easy to know how you talk yourself. Teachers on the Diploma of English Language Teaching course who left a tape-recorder going during a lesson reported being surprised at some aspects of their talking. They heard themselves simplifying their language more than was necessary. They found that they spoke too much, or failed to pause after asking a question. They used intonation patterns more usual in addressing little children, and used unfinished sentences as a means of eliciting the "right" word. ("And if you want to get a bus timetable you to go to the ...?")

The time with a home tutor may be one of the few chances some learners have to interact socially in English during the week. How can the tutor use language as naturally as possible for what can often become a social relationship, while at the same time preparing the learner for a range of language use? One way of finding out about your language could be to let the tape run while you are having a discussion and then listen to it together later.

What About Students' Errors?

The question of how to respond to learners' errors is an example of the dilemma some tutors feel between their social and their teaching role. Teachers, linguists, and psychologists have given a great deal of attention over the past few years to the topic of correcting students' spoken or written errors. Some teachers feel they receive contradictory messages. On the one hand, a student may be asking to have every error corrected, while on the other hand, the tutor's understanding is that it is not helpful always to interrupt fluency in favour of accuracy.

Whatever policy you follow about errors needs to be explained to the learners. They need to know, for instance, that the person who makes no errors is not trying out new language. They can be shown that there is a difference between errors that are the result of not knowing the standard form, and mistakes that arise from concentrating on the message rather than on the form of the language.

Knowing the linguistic forms of the language (how to pronounce and spell, knowing enough words to say what you want and being able to put them in sentences that make sense) is the kind of competence that most people think of when the topic of learners' errors comes up, but it is not the only kind we need.

It is possible to be speaking completely grammatically and yet to be speaking unacceptably in the social sense. ("Your hair's looking a mess today." "How much does your wife earn?") These, and many other examples that you will have come across, are a reminder of sociolinguistic competence, the awareness of what is appropriate in which situation. It is not the case that all native speakers do it well, and all non-native speakers fail. However, in our own culture we have more chance of knowing the effect

our remarks will have. When we insult people, or complain to them, or ask personal questions, that's usually exactly what we mean to do.

Another kind of competence is strategic competence, which refers to the skills we put into action when communication is not going well and we have to repair it. Think of one or two situations where this happens, even between first-language speakers. You cannot understand one of the key words in the other person's sentence, or you realise as you are in the middle of a conversation that you are talking at cross-purposes. How do you repair the conversation? Often these are the skills that make the difference between clear and unclear conversations.

Finally, there is discourse competence, which involves knowing how particular encounters are structured. For example, if you eavesdrop on a telephone call you know even from the opening or closing moves whether the call is social or for business.

Whatever the error, we need to have a policy for dealing with it, and the policy needs to be one that the learner is clear about and satisfied with. The options are different for spoken or written errors. Here are some ideas that have been tried.

- Divide the talking time into accuracy and fluency periods. When the focus is on accuracy you correct. When it is on fluency you don't.
- Focus on different types of error on different days. Ask the learner to nominate the type of error to be worked at that day.
- Between lessons, answer letters from your student by using naturally some of the forms he or she is having trouble with.
- Mark errors in written work with a cross. The student then tries to work out what's wrong.
- Use tapes, so that students can self-monitor their speech.
- Remind students that by concentrating too hard on not making mistakes, they may not be communicating as naturally as they could and therefore may not be getting a good range of input back from other people.

What Do You Talk About?

There are a number of considerations here. Who decides the topics of conversation from week to week — tutor or learner? How are they chosen — systematically or spontaneously? The actual content of the lessons is at the heart of the rest of the conversation. If people are talking about topics they want to discuss, then some of the other concerns about talking as part of the learning process fall into place. Ever since Krashen started to make a distinction between learning and acquiring a language, people have become aware of the importance of using language in natural contexts or topics of common interest as part of the learning process. That is one of the strengths of one-to-one learning. If learner and tutor have enough in common to make their topics of conversation interesting in themselves, then English will be acquired, at least part of the time, less consciously than in the formal lesson.

Who Says What?

At the beginning, it is easy to slip into a pattern where the tutor asks all the questions and the student gives all the answers, or the tutor initiates every exchange and the learner has to take it further which, incidentally, is much harder than initiating your own topics. Dividing the talking time so that the student is not always in "inferior" mode becomes easier the more English there is to work with. Think of things that are difficult to do in a new language (to change the subject, to disagree, to initiate topics, and to be tentative) and see who has a chance to do them during a lesson.

How can students learn to do these things? Of course, the more even the relationship the more naturally some of these things will occur anyway. However, the reality is that home tutoring is not always an evenly-balanced relationship. One person is in another's home. One knows more English than the other. One is giving up free time to help the other, and so on.

Role playing is one solution. If you and your student find this helpful, share out the "powerful" roles. Let the student sometimes be the shopkeeper, the government official, or the person who gives out information. Having to practise these roles is part of the process of learning to respond to them.

Another solution is to teach quite explicitly some tactics for doing these things, encouraging the student to try them out between lessons in genuine situations, and then to report back next lesson.

Conclusion

To summarise the message about exchanging language: be aware of how and how much you are talking, and discuss with the learner your policy about the way talk is divided, including your role as a tutor.

Marilyn Lewis is a Senior Lecturer for the Diploma of English Language Teaching at Auckland University.

The Role of the ESOL Teacher/Counsellor

by Cynthia So

The rationale behind the work of the English language counsellor is to provide a "non-threatening" atmosphere in which students can discuss, on a one-to-one basis, problems encountered in the learning of English. Another important aspect of the work is to assist students to gain access to necessary information in planning their future studies and/or career paths.

There are certain advantages in having a person other than their own class teacher to consult on these matters. Firstly, some students may want to communicate their anxieties and self-doubt in learning a new language to a person who is not involved in the teaching/learning situation. This is especially true at the beginning of the term, when students seem to be quite overwhelmed by the novelty of the learning situation and by self-doubt.

Secondly, students at the beginning levels often do not have sufficient language to enable them to communicate certain aspects of their problems to their teachers, unless the latter have some knowledge of their own language. In this case, a bilingual counsellor would be in a position to help to establish some ways of communication between teacher and student.

Thirdly, although the counsellor tries not to duplicate the work of the class teacher, they can deal with language problems which are better dealt with individually, and outside normal class hours, hence saving class time and taking the load off the class teacher.

Another important function of the counsellor is to provide access to information. They pool relevant information which is considered useful for students who want to continue their English language studies or to pursue career paths leading from their present studies. The counsellor provides the student with the available information, as well as encouraging independent searches wherever possible. This again saves class time and the teacher's time, as the interviews could sometimes be quite drawn out.

Based on my experience as ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) teacher/counsellor at the Auckland Institute of Technology (AIT) School of Languages, the reasons behind why a student wants to see a language counsellor can be broken down into three main categories:

Psychological

The problems of self-doubt and anxiety about the lack of progress have come up very often, especially with students who have had a high level of education and social status in their own country. For some, a return to a formal learning situation after many years poses problems such as, "Am I too old to learn?", "I don't seem to be making the right kind of progress", or "my memory is failing me". Their anxiety is often compounded by the fast speech and new accents encountered in real life and in the classroom. In these cases, assuming that confidence would gradually come as they settle down in their new learning situation, I have reassured them of their ability to learn, and made them aware of various strategies in learning to which they have yet to become accustomed. It is interesting to note that what we think may be useful strategies in learning, such as guessing meaning from context, constitute only shaky ground for some of our students, who were probably taught English in quite different ways.

Pedagogical

My work as a language counsellor in principle does not duplicate the work of the class teacher. Students are not encouraged to come to have "extra" classes. However, there are times when I consider it expedient to give the students some extra tuition: when the topic is beyond the scope or the level of their class and pertains only to that particular student. Since our students cover a large range of nationalities and backgrounds, it is not surprising to have uneven abilities in different areas of language learning among students in the same class. One example is the mainland-Chinese student, who more often than not has a fair knowledge of the International Phonetic Alphabet, although may be only at the beginner level in general English proficiency. In such cases, I have found that dealing with the International Phonetic Alphabet with a particular student may actually be the most expedient way to satisfy the student's need to learn and to reduce the inconvenience to the class teacher.

Access to Specific Information

Students come to me for information mainly concerning their current and future studies, either in the AIT School of Languages, or elsewhere. Some others have specific enquiries to make about financial assistance. Some of the higher-level students may also want to know the details about English proficiency examinations which are necessary prerequisites for tertiary studies. As nearly all of them are recent immigrants, they need all the help they can get with obtaining the necessary information to draw up their study plans and career paths.

Students also come to visit me for various other reasons. They sometimes encounter problems with communication in their day-to-day transactions

with the outside world, such as government departments and large institutions. Their difficulties at times lie not only in the lack of sufficient knowledge of the language, but also the skills of effective communication. With the latter, it often entails a change in attitude as well. Thus, while helping them with the language aspect, I have often tried to make them "have a go at it", so that they would have the experience of using the language they already have and testing out the communication situations themselves.

This is the first year that the teacher/counsellor position has existed. Its direction and focus are very much student driven. The counsellor, therefore, has to be flexible and responsive to student needs within the parameters described above.

I would like thank Trish Daley for her support and encouragement in the preparation of this report.

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Letters to Teacher: A Study of Students' Writing

by Judith Sorrenson

This is a study of the writing, motivation, and confidence of three adult learners who wrote letters to their teacher over a period of twelve weeks. It was undertaken as part of the Diploma in English Language teaching at the University of Auckland. The study was referred to in an article by Marilyn Lewis in the second issue of *Many Voices*.

Factors affecting ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) learners' language input and output have been well studied in second-language acquisition research. Adults, in particular, need an informal environment; they need activities which foster and widen their field of interest, and they need regular, intensive language use which broadens their vocabulary and consolidates grammatical structures.

Individual interests, anxiety, frustrations, and personal relationships have all been identified as factors affecting ESOL learners' language acquisition. For example, Zamel cited advanced ESOL students who referred to the frustrations and difficulties that they had as non-native writers of English, most of which had to do with concerns of spelling, weak expressions, and inadequate words to express ideas. Cohen and Norst found that monolingual English-speaking adult students who were required to learn a foreign language suffered from "trauma", "frustration", "anger", "resentment", "embarrassment" and "guilt". And Parkinson and Howell-Richardson identified anxiety levels from learners' diaries as affecting their learning: "I am slow(ly) to understand", "I'm stupid", "stressed", "confused" and "frustrated". Writers of personal letters, on the other hand, are in a low-stress situation, and are therefore less confused and more confident, because they can write about subjects of interest in their own time, choosing to continue a topic or not. They are in control.

While tutoring a class of eight adult ESOL learners at the Sandringham Community House in Auckland in 1991, I was concerned that the learner/teacher contact time was limited to only two hours a week, and that the learners' other contacts with English speakers were equally meagre. Therefore, following a suggestion given to the University of Auckland Diploma in English Language Teaching (Dip. ELT) class by Dorothy Brown, I decided to encourage the Community House learners to write letters to me. For not only would letter writing provide an opportunity for them to use language close to informal spoken English and practise their personal letter-writing skills, but it would also give an added chance to interact socially, thus providing the kind of informal environment which Krashen recommended as being beneficial for adult second-language acquisition.

Although the weekly letter did not give the opportunity for such intensive language use as Krashen had advised and it was up to the learners how much effort they put into it, it was informal and regular. Also, it gave the learners the opportunity to communicate in a meaningful way, in real-time. Moreover, I hoped that the out-of-class, learner-centred activity of letter writing, would help build up the learners' confidence, and perhaps motivate them to be more self-directed. At the same time I could detect any factors which may have affected their input and output.

Of the class of eight, three learners in their middle twenties to early thirties chose to write on a regular basis over a period of several weeks — a Chinese woman (X), a Korean woman (Y) and an Iranian man (Z). Of these three elementary-to-intermediate learners, two had been in New Zealand for six months and one had recently arrived from China. At first, we exchanged letters in the classroom, which meant a slow turn-around of one letter every fortnight, but by the fourth week, hoping to use the letters for my Dip. ELT research project, I asked the three who were corresponding with me if they would like to be part of my research. Since they were all very

happy to do so, we began to send our letters by weekly post from then on.

If, as Palmberg has suggested, individual interests of the participating learners affect the storage and retrieval of words, then writing letters should develop the learners' vocabulary too, because they write about topics which interest them. This was certainly the case with these three letter writers, who gradually veered away from themselves to such subjects as handwriting, furnishings, garage sales, TV programmes, discomfort (Z); agricultural interests, the ozone layer, ultraviolet radiation, sterilisation, happiness (Y); journeys, events, visits, feelings, having nothing to do, understanding New Zealanders, imagining, and shyness (X). The more they wrote, the broader their vocabulary became.

As their vocabulary increased, their field of interest increased too. Y's ten letters ranged from one topic in the first letter to eight and nine topics in letters seven to ten. Similarly, it became evident that as Z gained more practice at writing letters and became more confident, his field of interest widened. Of the seven letters he wrote, he progressed from one topic in the first letter, to seven in the fourth and fifth, and eight in the sixth and seventh. X also expanded from four topics in the first letter, to nine in her eighth letter. Therefore, as the writers became more involved in the correspondence, they displayed more confidence, and began to introduce topics beyond the self, introducing a higher proportion of ideational concepts, while still retaining the personal nature of the mode.

Maintaining an informal register in personal letters is a major factor as to how successful and personal the correspondence is. When Rinvolucri wrote that "a certain degree of intimacy" was necessary if the target language was to be perceived by learners as having depth and affective, expressive potential, he was commenting on how writing letters to his six elementary adult learners from Western Europe forced him to think of the individual more, both as a person and as a language learner. He found, too, that the relationships between the learners and himself became more adult to adult, rather than "false parent to child".

In my own case, I found that there was a certain inhibition on the part of the learners on becoming too personal. Apart from such greetings as "How are you?", there were only four personal questions directed at me in all twenty-five letters — two about my son, one about my father, and one about the novels I have read — whereas I had made a point of asking them personal questions about themselves, their circumstances, and their life in their home country. This inhibition on the part of the learners probably was due to such factors as the difference in our ages, the learner-teacher relationship, sex differences (for the male), and cultural factors, all of which were undeniable, no matter how informal and personal the letters became. However, that is not to say that they were not interested in me, or my well-being. More than once Y asked me not to worry about her problems, and used affectionate terms like, "Thank you dear Judith," and, "Take good care of yourself, Judith." X passed several compliments about the English class, my teaching, my letters, and my life-style, and Z wished me well. Overall, the relationship between the learners and myself could be described as that of adult/learner to adult/helper, more than friend to friend, or, as Rinvolucri found, simply adult to adult.

Because the learners were able to write about subjects that interested them, with vocabulary of their own choice, there was little doubt that the letter-writing exercise added to the confidence and motivation of all of them. Towards the end of the term, however, perhaps because of the lack of teacher control and knowing there was to be no correction (a stipulation made at the beginning), or because her life was very full, or perhaps because she was feeling very relaxed and therefore was taking more risks, X became a little careless with her structures, leaving words out, or endings off. Nevertheless, her desire to do well in the language, and her general exuberance and enthusiasm shone through. She knew her limitations with English, and was strongly motivated to improve: "I can learn more and improve my English quickly; I need to add [to] my words; I want to learn some idioms." She also spoke openly about her feelings for my teaching. If nothing else, the correspondence gave her a dossier of my writings which she indicated she would keep and cherish.

At first anxious about her inability to speak English well — "I'm can't English speaking well," — Y soon relaxed. From the start, she wanted to do well: "I will work hard learn to language," and once she agreed to become part of my research project an improvement in her structures was noted, though they were not all perfect. Her delight at receiving my first letter by post was evident: "It's wonderful. I got your letter last Friday. I read again and again. I was more glad you sent me by post." And she wrote a much longer and more interesting letter as a result. Her writing continued to improve, she became much more confident with her spoken English, and as a result was even more motivated to learn.

Z never wrote about his English language needs, though we did speak about them when the occasion arose in class. His decision to remain in the class after he had moved to another district

had a positive effect: "I am very happy becou (because) I decided (to) continue this class. I hop(e) to be a good student for you". He, too, was very pleased to receive a letter in the post, and wrote a much longer, better-constructed letter than before as a consequence: "When I found that in the post box I was very happy." Indeed, he was so happy about the letter writing that, not long after, he wrote his first letter in English to his sister in the United States. At one stage, inability to read my handwriting caused some confusion and slowed the correspondence, but once that was rectified it continued unhindered. Z's greater confidence, especially when speaking English, was one of the more positive offshoots of the letter writing, borne out by his fifteen-minute talk to the class on the subject of painting in oils.

There is little doubt that there was affective gain. When the learners were happy, they became more motivated, their output improved, and there was a corresponding linguistic improvement. The learners enjoyed communicating through the letters, as I did myself, and that gave momentum to the correspondence. Initial anxieties soon waned. Furthermore, such out-of-class teacher attention and input led to more learning and more fluent spoken English — particularly marked in the two elementary learners — which in turn led to more confidence and increased motivation to learn more.

It is hoped that those teachers who want to foster meaningful, out-of-class, communicative activities which will have positive outcomes amongst their learners will consider writing letters to them.

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Early Literacy Development in Pacific Islands Language Nests

by Feaua'i Burgess

The Pacific Islands language nest movement has been going for seven years and is now reaching an estimated thirty percent of Pacific Islands children of pre-school age. A further thirty percent are enrolled in other early childhood services including kindergartens.

To date, major effort has gone into:

- Establishing language nests. There are now just over 200 language nests registered with the Early Childhood Development Unit.
- Setting up training opportunities at the community level, through the New Zealand Childcare Association, and at Colleges of Education.

Current efforts are going into meeting the requirements for licensing and for achieving charter status. At present there are only five licensed and four chartered language nests. The time has now come for language nests to begin to look at the quality of the programmes they are offering. The language development of children in Samoan, and their emerging literacy in two languages, are two areas in need of special attention.

This study looked at the opportunities for literacy experiences in three language nests and compared what was offered with that in one kindergarten. Two topics were looked at specifically: the number of books available in the language nests, and the types of literacy experiences provided for the children.

Profile of the Language Nests

"Pa'epa'e" has twenty children, two three-hour sessions on four days a week, and four qualified staff. It is unlicensed and has been established six months. It is attached to a church.

"Samasama" has twenty-five children, one five-hour session on four days a week, and six qualified staff. It is unlicensed and has been established two and a half years. It is attached to a church.

"Mūmū" has twenty-eight children, one five-hour session on four days a week, and four qualified staff. It is unlicensed and has been established five years. It is attached to a primary school.

(The Samoan words are the words for colours and are used to protect the identities of the language nests.)

We asked firstly what books were available in the language nest, in English and in Samoan. How the books were being used, how frequently book experiences were taken with the children, and what other experiences the children had with print, were our following questions. We then asked about the kinds of experiences the children had with story telling and imaginative play. Finally, we asked about the systems that were in place for making "big books" using Samoan text. The interviews were conducted with language nest supervisors, with other staff present and encouraged to contribute.

Book Resources

The number of books available to the children in the three language nests studied was quite low, with less than one book per child in either English or Samoan. A comparative count was made of the books in a kindergarten close to one of

the language nests. The books there totalled six hundred, with one hundred and fifty-five on display at the time of the visit. Other resources included fifty audio taped stories and legends. However, only one book in the Samoan language was available at the kindergarten.

How Were the Books Used?
The language nests used the books to provide literacy experiences in a number of ways. These are summarised in Table 1.
Eng. = English, Sam. = Samoan

Table 1: The Ways in Which Books Were Used in The Survey

Method	Pa'epa'e		Samasama		Mûmû	
	Eng.	Sam.	Eng.	Sam.	Eng.	Sam.
Story reading to children	-	*	-	*	-	*
Enlarged book experiences	-	-	-	-	-	*
Independent book experiences	*	*	*	*	*	*
Whole language experiences	-	-	-	-	-	-
Story telling	-	*	-	*	-	*

There were four features of special note about how the books were used:

- Only Samoan was used in the reading or telling of stories regardless of the language of the text.
- The children had access to the books at any time during the day.
- Enlarged books were available in only one case.
- Whole language experiences with books were noticeably absent. The stories were simply told, and there was little interaction with the children during the story telling. No examples of follow-up activities were observed.

Frequency of Book Experiences
As well as considering how books were used in the language nests, observations were made of the time spent on literacy activities. The amount of time spent interacting with books was low for one language nest. In the other two, the figures show that a quarter to a third of their programmes were associated with literacy events.

Other Experiences With Print
All centres appeared to be doing the traditional activities of learning the alphabet, numbers, and colours. Although these activities are not recommended by some writers as appropriate practice for years three through to five, they are practices commonly observed in homes and at Sunday School. As long as children are spending sufficient time with books, skill-focused activities can form a useful bridge into home literacy values.

Story Telling
Oral literacy in the form of story telling is an important feature of the curriculum. Table 2 gives further details on the ways in which this activity is used in the language nests.

Table 2: Kinds of Experiences That Children Have With Story Telling.

Experiences	Pa'epa'e	Samasama	Mûmû
Stories told by adults	*	*	*
Stories told by children	*	*	*
Listening to story tapes	-	*	*
Story telling with puppets	-	*	*
Story tellers from the community	-	-	*

The more established language nests have provided additional variety to story telling by using taped stories and story tellers from the community.

Imaginative Play
Observations were made on imaginative play as an important opportunity for language development. All three language nests had a family corner with a conventional range of props.

Enlarged Books
There was no reported system in place for making big books in the Samoan language. The big books that were in one centre were in English and were commercially produced.

Conclusion
Language nests may need to consider their priorities when it comes to selecting parts of the curriculum for quality enhancement. The case for selecting literacy experiences is a strong one, though not one that has traditionally been emphasized in early childhood education. The play curriculum and language development have received the greater focus.

Two routes are available for enriching literacy experiences.

- Increase the number of books and use them as the stimulation for language and play.
- Increase the number of play activities that make use of literacy events.

The nature of book experiences in early childhood

education is a controversial issue. Language nests show all the signs of wanting to develop literacy in Pacific languages using many of the techniques that junior classes at primary schools would use. If this emphasis is continued, it will need quality supervisor and parent education programmes in place to support it, as well as appropriate liaison with primary schools.

A staged development for resourcing literacy experiences is proposed for language nests as follows (see Appendix).

- At establishment, basic resources would need to include a wide range of books and audio tapes in both Samoan and English.
- The next stage would seem to require the organisation of play areas into a variety of settings stocked with literacy materials that children have been observed to use in real life.
- Looking further ahead, language nests might like to consider the purchase or development of educational toys and games in Pacific Islands languages which help children with tasks associated with reading and writing.

The time has come for language nests to select aspects of their programme and to gather information that could be used for curriculum enhancement. The present study has suggested a staged model for improving the quality of literacy experiences based on data collected from three language nests. As parts of the curriculum are enhanced, corresponding additions to training and resources will be needed.

Appendix: A Staged Approach to Resourcing Literacy Development

Stage 1

- Increase the number of books and print materials available to children in both English and Samoan.
- Involve children in meaningful literacy events.
- Use a whole language approach to book experiences.
- Use oral language to talk about written language (réad, write, story, letter, up, down ..., faitau, tusitusi, tala, tusi, i luga, i lalo ...).

Stage 2

- Re-organize the play area into a variety of real-life and imaginary settings, such as the post office, the kitchen, the supermarket, and so on.
- Introduce reading and writing materials into the re-organised play area. Choose materials that have been used in the real world (forms, supermarket coupons, stamp pads, mail box, phone books, letters, birthday cards, market signs, and so on).

Stage 3

- Buy developmentally appropriate toys and games that help children solve the problems of recognising letter names and letter sounds, recognising words and rhymes, and making connections between reading, writing, and speaking.

Feaua'i Burgess is a lecturer in Early Childhood Education at Wellington College of Education. A full copy of this report is available from the author or from the editor of *Many Voices*.

Editor's Note: Learning Media currently has sixteen book titles in Samoan available free on request to early childhood language groups, which may request multiple copies of each title. More titles in Samoan are in production. Samoan resources are also available from the Pacific Islanders' Educational Resource Centre (Box 46-056,] Bay, Auckland), the Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre (Box 6566, Te Aro, Wellington), and the Polynesian Bookshop (Box 68-446, Newton, Auckland). Catalogues are available, on request.
Titles in Niuean, Tongan, Tokelauan, and Cook Islands Maori are also available from Learning Media and the sources listed.

My Heart Is Running

by Barbara Johnston and Julie Grenfell

"My heart is running" — Maly Chum, bilingual worker after her first public occasion as interpreter at the opening of the Khmer Collection, Dunedin Public Library, April 1992.

This quote, used with Maly's permission, speaks also for both of us as we think back on almost three years of involvement in the Treehouse Programme for Cambodian parents. It describes the excitement we feel watching parents develop confidence to cope in situations they have previously avoided or approached only with great nervousness, as well as our feelings of responsibility for setting up situations that allow their confidence to grow.

For the parents themselves, it seems to describe their feelings as they take steps which involve putting themselves in situations which require them to speak English to principals, school secretaries, teachers, dental nurses, and librarians, and the feelings they have as they are taken into unfamiliar situations such as classrooms, staffrooms, libraries, dental clinics, school camps, swimming pools, and sports grounds. We admire their courage.

The programme grew out of a small grant from the Social Welfare Community Initiatives Fund for a Khmer bilingual worker to support the Cambodian parents whose children made up 15 percent of the roll of Arthur Street School in Dunedin. The Otago Polytechnic English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Unit and the Dunedin Refugee Support Group, both

actively supporting new settler families, wanted to see classes in the community. Logan Park High School, through their community education hours and CLANZ (Community Learning Aotearoa New Zealand) were willing to help fund a tutor, and the school's Board of Trustees agreed to help fund Maly when the first grant ran out. Otago Polytechnic now funds Barbara as tutor, and funding for Maly comes through the New Settlers Co-ordinator for schools in Otago and Southland.

Funding always has been an issue and can't be dodged. Somehow, we have always managed, but initially this did involve hours of writing requests for funding. Finding a bilingual worker was also an initial concern — this took nine months, and we were fortunate. Maly has been essential to the success of the programme. She had trained as a teacher in Cambodia from 1979-81 and with two children of her own not only brought her own skills, but identified with new settlers and wanted to learn. Barbara, with twelve years of ESOL tutoring experience and recent exposure to the ideas of Denise Gubbay and Sheila Coghill, wanted to work with a group of speakers of other languages who share a common focus, and to meet in a community setting, rather than a Polytechnic classroom.

Julie, after some years working in inner-city schools, felt strongly that the increased parental involvement called for in the "Tomorrow's Schools" proposals could, in fact, increasingly disadvantage new settlers. Finding your voice in a new society takes time and energy, it involves taking risks, and needs the support of people willing to provide encouragement and opportunities. You can't ask for what you want unless you know what the options are, and what is already happening anyway — and then you need to know that your voice will be heard.

The school had an obligation to do something about this and the Treehouse, a detached classroom at the school, was available. Moreover, the Otago Polytechnic ESOL Unit, and Childcare Centre, were only three to four minutes walk away.

We shared concerns and assumptions — a major concern being to put into practice ideas such as the following:

- Biculturalism and bilingualism are to be valued and encouraged and seen to be so.
- New settlers have much to offer their new society.
- New settlers bring individual strengths and skills both as people, and as parents and first teachers of their children.
- Opportunities need to be provided to show we respect these strengths and skills.
- Racism and racist behaviour do exist and are best dealt with by providing supported experiences which are likely to "succeed" for both parties.
- The ongoing and emerging needs of the learners should define the course programme.

Following on from this are the ideas that the autonomy of the learner is to be respected, and learners are to be involved in ongoing decision making.

All this is easier said than done — and is often said — and it does involve asking people what they want, what they think of what is happening, and attending to what they say. We have found out about ourselves in the process (especially when a cherished part of our programme wasn't appreciated!).

In 1991, to support a funding application, we produced a booklet entitled *Coming To School*. In this, we stated our beliefs that new settlers want to strengthen family ties, to be effective parents, to understand what is happening at school and how to help their children, and to learn the language of their new culture.

This group of parents worked with us to identify their needs. To meet these our responsibilities include ensuring that they have opportunities, in a supported bilingual programme, to learn:

- The language and skills they need to become New Zealand citizens.
- What their rights and responsibilities as parents are.
- What happens at school, how it functions, and how to help at school.
- How to help their children grow and achieve.
- How to increase their own opportunities and independence.

We began in February 1990, with a group of around eighteen parents from both Arthur Street and Brockville Schools meeting three days a week from 12 to 2 pm. Many parents come early and have time together socially, or observe and "absorb" whatever's going on. We have tea, coffee, and lunch (with the smell of hot noodles and home-cooked food) to help us along. Many of the school's Khmer children join us for lunch before the class begins.

Now, in 1992, we cater for parents from Forbury and Maori Hill schools, as well as Arthur Street and Brockville.

The Dunedin Khmer Community of around one thousand people is largely made up of people from a rural background who, in many cases, have had only a few years of formal schooling and, in some cases, none at all. Levels of literacy are often low, and some parents are not literate in the Khmer language.

Thus, the task of adapting to a new and very different life in a society in which literacy has a high profile is a daunting one. It is a huge task,

and one we feel would be hard to achieve without bilingual input. Maly's role is a vital one. Bilingual tutors are, in our view, essential at the beginning levels for adult learners with low levels of literacy. It takes time for people to learn — particularly people who rely solely on oral input and memory, without the support of the written word. People who have learned informally, by imitating or by doing, continue to learn best that way, and can take a long time to even begin to become literate. In addition, people who have suffered the trauma that most Khmer people have can also have difficulties in concentrating and absorbing new learning.

Despite all of these factors, however, confidence does grow, and learning does take place — evidence of the determination and effort learners continue to put in as they tackle the job of adapting to life in a new country.

We are now two and a half years down the track. Five of the parents who started at the beginning of 1990 are still with the programme, still in need of the support it offers, but with the confidence to try anything asked of them. Some who started in 1991 are in their second year. Others joined the programme at the beginning of this year, and the most recent arrivals joined us in May. Those who have moved on have joined the Polytechnic ESOL Clothing and Design course, have moved away from Dunedin, or have left to care for a baby.

Confidence levels at the beginning of 1990 were low and parents' expectations of what learning was about were narrow. The very first time parents went to meet their children's teachers some people needed to be supported in order to take the step of entering the classroom doorway. In the first year, a lot of time and energy was spent making contact with teachers and explaining what we were trying to do. We tried to ensure that the encounters would be successful and positive for both parties. Teachers were supplied with copies of what the parents would be attempting to say and an explanation of why we wanted them to say it. It seemed to help teachers feel more comfortable in those early meetings because they knew what to expect.

A journal kept throughout the period details the sudden surge of confidence there was around the time the programme had been running for eighteen months. Quite suddenly, there was a willingness to go out and meet people, to go on visits, to go to school fairs, to cook on fundraising stalls, to visit school camps, to buy lunch at the school Parent Teacher Association's lunchtime stall, and to feel confident about hosting visitors to the Treehouse by offering them tea and coffee. There was also a desire to write and read — a readiness to write about what we do. It was as though all the groundwork suddenly began to pay off. In fact, several parents have started turning up after an activity with their own written account of what they have done, sometimes achieved with the help of their children. This represents a huge step towards becoming an independent writer.

This confidence seems to be picked up much more quickly by the newcomers to the programme who follow the role models of the other parents as they show how it's done and fill them in with the necessary information. Learning is a social event, a lot is absorbed through osmosis, and the "old hands" become both learners and teachers.

Programme objectives and content include helping participants to become aware of their rights and responsibilities as parents, and to learn how New Zealand schools function. Both large and small issues have been raised, such as how classes are organised, why children need more than one exercise book, why it is important to phone the school if a child is sick, after-school sports practices, sausage sizzles, and school banking.

Another objective is to increase parents' confidence in relating to teachers and other school personnel. Parents learn to make an appointment to see their children's teachers, and conventions of greeting and farewell. They meet the dental nurse and health nurse and discuss health and nutrition issues for life in New Zealand.

In becoming more familiar with the school programme parents visit classrooms and watch or join in activities. They go to the swimming pool, watch lessons, become involved in teaching, and occasionally go swimming themselves. It is important for parents to learn about school camps, to find out what children learn on camp, and to visit and contribute to the camp programme.

Other objectives of the programme include looking at the "Keeping Ourselves Safe" programme, fund-raising activities, and homework requirements. Participating in the wider community has included visits to the museum, art gallery and exhibitions, and the setting up of a Khmer collection in the Dunedin Public Library.

Parents have written about their experiences in English and Khmer. We developed a set of photo-readers based on these experiences, and encourage parents to tell stories in Khmer and to talk about books with their children. The parents have contributed something of their Cambodian culture to the school, including greetings, numbers, games, cooking, and kitemaking. Their presence in the school adds a new dimension to our school life.

And what about the teachers, principals, school secretaries, dental nurses, health nurses, librarians and others? How do they feel about their contact with parents who speak Khmer, but

very little English? Most are very keen to have contact with the parents, but are often unsure about how to make contact or how to speak to parents who have only a small amount of English. How do they feel about a programme which aims to help bridge the gap between home and school for the families of the Cambodian children they work with?

Teachers' responses to a recent survey included the following comments:

"The Treehouse Programme helps everyone understand each other better. I understand more about family situations and language difficulties."

"I have learned how interested the parents are in what their children are doing at school, and how determined they are to learn English."

"I'm more aware of the different backgrounds of the parents, and the different expectations they have of what schools can do."

"The Cambodian families have needed more support than we could have offered as a school without the Treehouse Programme."

"I have realised there is a rich Cambodian culture which I didn't know anything about. I didn't realise how proud the Cambodian people are of their culture until they all came to school to take part in the Cambodian Studies programme."

"I have welcomed the opportunity to bring the parents into the classroom."

And, appropriately, the parents themselves tell us some of what they think or have thought along the way.

"Yes, I feel more confident about talking to my children's teachers."

"It's hard, but I want to try."

"Yes, I know more about how the school works than I did before."

"I am happy to teach the children about Cambodia."

"I know some ways I can help my children learn at home."

We have focused here on the experience of the adults. In the future we hope to look at what we see happening for their children. School and family are two important and inescapable influences — children need to see them work warmly and supportively together, and to know that being Khmer is valued.

It is very hard to describe the things that happen between people as they interact with each other. There are feelings expressed, changes in levels of awareness and contacts made, which can't easily be put into words. Some cultural barriers are slowly breaking down. We see parents able to operate more effectively. As confidence grows, they take more and more steps into a world vastly different from the one they have come from.

We see, too, a growing awareness amongst the locals the parents come into contact with of some of the things new settlers are faced with as they adjust to life in New Zealand. The remarkable thing for us is the warmth and humour the Cambodian people bring with them, and their strong desire to help their children grow and be successful. It is exciting to be part of the process.

Reference

Grenfell, J and Johnston, B. *Coming To School*. ESOL Unit, Otago Polytechnic, Dunedin, 1991.

Julie Grenfell is Principal of Arthur Street School, Dunedin. Barbara Johnston is a Tutor in the ESOL unit at Otago Polytechnic.

Getting the Most Out of *School Journals*

This article gives some practical ideas for using *School Journal* publications for the teaching of language skills. These may be of interest to Intensive English teachers, support teachers and mainstream teachers who have to cater for new English-language learners in their classes.

The Value of School Journals

by Yvonne Fox

Hagley Intensive English teachers use *School Journals* at all levels, from near beginners to fairly advanced students, and for all ages, from young teens to adults. Although a lot of commercial material is available for senior ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages] students, there is little suitable resource material available for teenagers. Most commercial material comes from other countries. We need New Zealand-based material and this is one reason why we find *School Journals* suitable.

Journals offer multicultural material, presenting different cultural traditions and legends from around the world. Other themes are not culture-specific, such as tornadoes, or survival at sea. Such stories have captured the imagination of students and have been highly successful.

There are other advantages. Availability is the main one. They are free, already in the schools, with more added four times a year, back copies are available, and there is an excellent catalogue. We also like the element of surprise in handing out a new story every week. The interest created by the stories is partly attributable to the use of good writers. Well-written stories — and there are many of them — become favourites. They are also well illustrated, on glossy paper, and are generally attractive to handle.

This is not to say that *School Journals* are

totally ideal. There are some disadvantages. We have difficulty sometimes finding easy stories which will appeal to teenagers, with pictures of teenagers.

Another disadvantage is the frequent use of idiom, which creates difficulties for non-native speakers. How do you explain, "They could not *afford* to waste time" or "it *came down* to (a choice of) X or Y"?

Some problems arise with the use of detailed and colourful descriptive vocabulary that is not of high frequency, for example, "harped", "prodded, poked and peered". The grammar is not controlled for difficulty, so simple stories may use complex structures.

When using *Journals* we have to make our own worksheets, concentrating on vocabulary, comprehension, and grammar. It is time-consuming, although it means that we devise activities for our own students' needs.

Turning the Written Text Into Oral Language
by Irena Coates

Proficiency in oral language is very important for our students. Their needs include the ability to use social English, to engage in group discussions, to ask intelligent and intelligible questions, and to give reasoned answers, as well as to sum up or highlight the main points.

To convert the written language into oral language is not a new approach. It is a well-known and documented approach developed by British applied linguists which began around the 1930s. Called the "Oral Approach", it has shaped the design of many widely used English as a Second Language (ESL)/English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks and courses, such as *Streamline English* by Hartley and Viney, Oxford University Press, 1979, and the Kernel Lessons.

In my language programme, students begin by reading and studying texts from part 1 *School Journals*, for example, "The Monkey Prince and the Witch" (*SJ Part 1 No. 2, 1982*). Students work in groups of four: that way they get much more practice. They read and study the text two or three times every day for two or three days. Every evening they have written homework based on the text, either comprehension or grammar exercises.

Written homework questions are discussed in groups during our language lesson. Students are asked to say one sentence from the story. As they become familiar with the text through repeated readings they begin to memorise some phrases or even sentences. Talking about the text is a natural progression of skills flowing on from the reading. Students have something to talk about. They also have the vocabulary. They may memorise sentences or they may invent their own sentences.

Oral fluency practice may take the following forms:

- Asking questions about the story and answering them in a round robin sequence.
- Re-telling the story in sequence. Eventually, the students are able to tell the story in a simplified way from the beginning to the end. A lot of encouragement is given and hardly any correction — the aim is to develop confidence in speaking.
- Giving reasons, for example, " Why did the witch want to punish Ucay?"
- Simple conversation is developed around the topic studied. When students are more advanced, they are able to take part in a discussion.
- Dialogues and role plays are enjoyable and make students immediately focus on what they are going to say.

I spend a third of a language period practising oral fluency. This gradually increases to half a period. Later, when students are more advanced, a whole period is spent in "talking". This method enables the students to develop confidence in speaking, because they already know some language and can use it. It is an important positive experience upon which successful learning can be built.

Developing Comprehension
by Joan Cardno

When using *School Journals*, or any reading material for that matter, I think of the comprehension process as taking place before reading, during reading, and after reading.

At the pre-reading stage I use the pictures (and the *School Journal* uses excellent, well-placed photographs and drawings) to discuss possible happenings, to introduce the characters, and to help students predict what may happen. In this way they begin the reading task with specific goals.

After the students have read the story silently and had help with any problems, we have a guided reading period. I do not ever read the story around the group, but we use this time to read and discuss the story with a focus on comprehension. This is also the beginning of teaching skimming skills. By questioning the students I not only check on their reading skills but their comprehension skills as well.

Questions might be:

"What comes after ..."

"Find the part that tells ..."

"How was ... feeling? Find the part that tells how s/he was feeling."

Another activity is to reconstruct the story

around the group, with every member contributing.

School Journal stories often have quite a bit of action and are ideal for dramatisation. Even with beginner-level groups, one or two students can take the part of the characters, and, if necessary, the teacher can guide this by acting as the reader. With more able speakers, they can invent the conversation that would have taken place from the narrative of the story. This can range from a very brief effort of one or two sentences, to a more lengthy, comprehensive effort.

Telling the story from another point of view is another oral activity that checks on the comprehension of a story. A strip story is useful either when the story is new or for revising later. Each student has a sentence to memorise, then the students together have to arrange them in sequence.

Written activities, too, are a useful way of checking on comprehension. I use a variety of approaches. Here is a selection.

- Sets of questions which ask for direct recall of fact.
- Sets of questions which look for the facts by reading between the lines.
- Matching sentence halves. This works well with "A Bit of a Blow" (*SJ Part 2 No. 1, 1991*) and "The Three Fools" (*SJ Part 2 No. 3, 1990*), especially where the first half ends in "but" or "and".
- Sequencing sentences.
- Characters and activities. Students match characters with their activities or their speeches.
- Drawing pictures to illustrate the meaning of a sentence. For example, in "The Long Night Haul" (*SJ Part 1 No. 5, 1990*): "A truck with a wide load can get in the way of other traffic.", or more imaginative possibilities in "A Bit of a Blow": "It sounded as if someone was tipping a truckload of stones out of the sky on to the house."
- Draw a flow chart showing the sequence of events, including special conditions, or "what happens if ...".

Looking at Sentence Structure
by Pat Syme

I use *School Journals* to focus on structure in the widest sense, or grammar in the narrow sense. One possibility for teaching structure at the sentence level is to give students parts of a sentence to rearrange. Write out each sentence, and cut it up into phrases, or even into single words.

One way for students to learn structure at the paragraph level is to separate two paragraphs which have been mixed together. For example, in "The Day the Eagle Circled" (*SJ Part 3 No. 2, 1991*), the "before" and "after" paragraphs can be mixed together. Other ways are sequencing paragraphs, putting isolated paragraphs in their right places, attaching topic sentences to the correct paragraphs, and replacing cohesive words like "however".

There are several ways to teach grammar. Some examples are to:

- Design comprehension questions to elicit a particular pattern, for example, "Why did they ..." , "To do ...".
- Give carefully controlled answers and ask students to make the questions. The answers might all be places and demand a "Where ..." question.
- Teach question forms, by omitting words like "do/does" or "how/why" from a question.
- Teach verb tenses:
  (a) Teach irregular past forms as soon as possible. *Marineland* (SJ Story Library) uses many common irregular pasts.
  (b) "The Three Fools" uses past continuous. Extend this to the students' own activities: "What were you doing last night when the phone rang?"
  (c) Use the pictures in "111-Emergency!" (*SJ Part 3 No. 2, 1992*) to teach three tenses: "What has just happened?" "What is happening now?" "What is going to happen?"
- Conditionals. "111-Emergency" uses "What would happen if ...?" You can extend this structure to other incidents implied in the text, for example, "... if someone dialled 111 then laughed?"
- The passive is a useful structure for writing up science experiments. Find a story with a process, such as "The Life of a Bottle" (*SJ Part 1 No.1, 1982*), "Keep it Clean" (*SJ Part 4 No. 2, 1991*)
- A useful structure for maths is "How long ...?" "How wide ...?" "What is the length?" "What is the width?" This fits well with "The Long Night Haul". Extend these adjectives and corresponding nouns to include "far/distance", "heavy/weight", "old/age", "tall" or "high/height", "fast/speed".
- Indirect speech can be reinforced using "111-Emergency!" and the opposite, direct speech. Ask students to write the caller's part of the conversation.
- Don't forget speech punctuation. Give students the speech from a text. They add the punctuation and check it from the original.
- Teach some useful structures that are necessary for understanding the text, like, "There's never enough for our needs, let alone for extras." ("The Wedding." *SJ Part 4 No.2, 1990*). Devise other examples.

Other structures may arise from the text and you can teach them to clarify the use, or because your students are trying to use them.

The Topic Approach
by Margaret Johnston

Learning Media publications can also be used as the focus of a topic approach to English language learning. We have used the publication *Aloft* as the main student resource for a topic about space and space travel. The unit of work starts by looking at the general vocabulary of space and space travel, using the *New Oxford Picture Dictionary* and the Intermediate workbook that goes with this picture dictionary.

This is followed by reading the story "Space Shuttle" in *Aloft*, with vocabulary, comprehension, grammar exercises, and oral work based on this article. A listening activity is based on the second article in the book, "Mars Landing". For more extensive personal reading "Liferaft in Space" from *Survivors 3* is used. This is another School Publications [now Learning Media] series. And with more advanced students, we may look at the poem, "Crowded Sky", found in *SJ Part 3 No. 2, 1981*.

As well as doing language work using these publications we feel that our students must be introduced to the skills that they will need to be successful in mainstream classes in secondary schools. Therefore, some of these skills are also built into our units of work. For example, the story "Mars Landing" in *Aloft* may be used as the starting point for a research assignment on a particular planet. The students go from using this to using the school or public library to find further information. The assignment will include note taking, summarising, and presentation skills, as well as library research skills. The students can also be introduced to the different types of assessment used in New Zealand schools. For example, the assessment of these assignments could include marks for content, originality, and presentation. It could include an oral presentation and some form of peer assessment. The task could be an individual assignment or a group one. We ESL teachers must act as facilitators to help these students move from their own education system to the system used in secondary schools in New Zealand. They must not just survive in our system, they must succeed.

The writers of this article are teachers in the Intensive English Centre, Hagley Community College, Christchurch.

Assyrians in New Zealand

by Elizabeth Alkass and Margaret Ishaia

A small number of Assyrian Christians have recently settled in New Zealand, in Auckland and Wellington. This is a community new to New Zealand, but with an ancient and proud history. In this article, two members of that community comment on resettlement in New Zealand.

Historical Background
It is written in the Old Testament that the Assyrians originated from the son of Jonah. They emigrated from the dry land of the South towards the North East. They settled in the Mesopotamia where the land was fertile. Ashur was the King, or God, at that time. There are three hypotheses as to why they are called Assyrian:

- It comes from the name Assur, which means "a lot of water and fertile land".
- The name may be taken from Shuraya, meaning "the beginning of human life".
- It is from the name of the god Ashur.

The Assyrians are also known as the people from Mesopotamia, the land called the cradle of civilisation, located between the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates in South West Asia.

There was an advanced civilisation in Mesopotamia and many developments of modern Western civilisation can be traced back to this area. Agriculture flourished with the help of irrigation. Cities, roads, bridges, and constructions such as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon were established. A complex set of laws was enshrined in the Code of Hammurabi (Hammurabi was a king who ruled in Babylon 4000 years ago). These laws were written in Cuneiform, wedge-shaped characters which foreshadowed alphabetic scripts. The development of writing led to the establishment of a library in Ninevah, capital of the Assyrian Empire around the seventeenth century B.C. Other developments were in music, medicine, mathematics, time measurement, and astronomy, and all contributed to our modern scientific knowledge.

Recent History
When the Persians took Iraq centuries later, many Assyrians were killed. Some went to Russia and the rest spread across Iraq and Iran. They were later persecuted by the Moslems, who refused to acknowledge their Christianity and feared their past and potential power. This persecution continued as many Assyrians were discriminated

against in the workplace. Often educational opportunities were limited. The Assyrian language was not taught in schools, and their churches could lead worship but not teach. Assyrian books were censored and confiscated.

Persecution caused many Assyrians to flee. Often, they escaped to Syria, Greece, Turkey, and Iran with nothing. They sought refugee status from the United Nations and hoped for resettlement. Frequently the wait was long, and difficult, as people were unable to work. Sometimes no education was available and the length of stay varied from two to ten years. Many are still there.

Experiences of Resettlement
Expectations
The new settlers hoped that the New Zealand Government would provide home and work. They thought that the new country would be peaceful and would accept other family members.

The time spent in the Mangere Refugee resettlement programme was useful for learning about the new life in New Zealand.

Reality
Families received the help of sponsors but little else was done by the Government. Later arrivals received the Department of Social Welfare Establishment Grant of approximately $2000.00 per family. Initial worries were those of making a new life, housing, shopping, transport, and so on. Now, seeking employment is a big problem and many people are unemployed. Further training is available from polytechnics, but high fees prevent people from doing specialist training.

Women
Their experience has been that it is very difficult to find work. Generally, women cannot match the previous educational or vocational role they had at home. There is some opportunity to create their own business once a financial base is established. However, most Assyrian women are at home today.

Women need help to arrange schooling for their children. Waiting lists at pre-schools are a problem, and coping with English can be difficult for children. Children generally enter school with little or no English. Many people need the support of interpreters to use health care.

The difference in values of the host culture causes conflict, particularly between generations, for instance, the issue of freedom for teenagers. Many women feel lonely and isolated. The suburban lifestyle is very different in New Zealand, as Assyrian women are accustomed to close involvement with neighbours, more conversation, sharing of work, and constant visitors. A rural farming background is typical for most people. The church is a central part of the lifestyle. Large communal gatherings are common; families are very close and the community is highly valued. Assyrians have many children and they are cherished. The extended family is considered the most important social unit and parents and children continue to live together after the children have married. Divorce is not acceptable.

What Will Help?
Provision of things which enhance job prospects and increase social contact would help, for instance, English classes, skills training, work experience, using the library, visits, pre-school education for children, and regular exercise. There is also a need for cultural maintenance, mother-tongue education, and community contacts. Personal adaptability is very important.

Dream West

by Chakriya Mao

Down at the cottage where I belong, day and night I would dream West! I thought there would be beautiful flowers, a big city, tall buildings reaching up to the sky, cars running on the streets, and people different from me. I thought it would be like heaven. My mother used to tell me that one day I would be there, where our uncle is living. There it would be a peaceful place where you can earn money and opportunities for a good education ... but I never thought of that much. All I wanted to find out was what it was like "West", where everyone in my neighbourhood talked about. Was it the heaven that I always dreamed of?

Each day in the morning I would wake up early and look up at the Khao-i-dang mountain. That mountain that I counted as my history; that lived in my heart and would stay with me for the rest of my life. The place that I spent ten years with fear, a broken heart, and horrific conditions of living. A place where West people would think was an evil planet. From there I learned a lot of the bitterness of life and my adventure.

Day and night I watched for the dream to come true, with happiness and sadness. The sadness was when the moon disappeared and the skies turned black. I felt trapped. The happiness was when the moon burst out above my head, and below the skies I felt cool and full of hope. I did not know if anyone would have the same feelings as I did, but that was what my thoughts were like.

It was not long before my dream finally came. Before I left Khao-i-dang I was filled with

emotion at leaving my friends, neighbours, and especially my poor old cottage, for it shared everything with me, both happy and sad. It was there listening to me when I cried. It was there to defend me from the hurricane. It was one of my friends too.

At last it was time to say goodbye to everything that ever in my life belonged to me. It was sad. I was filled with tears but I could not say a word, only smile with tears in both my eyes, watching my friends who were to be left behind. I saw that they had red eyes, red noses, and handkerchiefs. It leaves me with a question: why is it so painful?

Why is it so painful only to dream West?

Chakriya Mao was a seventh form student at Wellington East Girls College in 1991.

Reviews

China: A Handbook in Intercultural Communication
by Jean Brick. Reviewed by Ellen Soulliere.

"Australian teachers are very friendly, but they often can't teach very well. I never know where they're going — there's no system and I just get lost. Also, they're often badly trained and don't really have a thorough grasp of their subject."

Sound familiar? If you teach English to Chinese-speaking learners and would like to know what to do about comments like this one, then Jean Brick's *China: A Handbook in Inter-Cultural Communication* is for you.

This is a thoughtful, well-informed guide to communication between members of the Chinese-speaking and English-speaking language communities. It starts from the premise that any attempt to examine cultural issues in the classroom must be a two-way process. Both teachers and students need to be ready to examine the unconscious assumptions that govern their uses of language. The book's intended audience is language teachers, and its purpose is to help them to integrate considerations of aspects of culture into their teaching of language. It challenges teachers to incorporate a deeper understanding of learners' cultural backgrounds into their work. It helps teachers to predict where conflict may arise between Western values, assumptions, and teaching methods, and those of Chinese learners. Best of all, it suggests practical ways of resolving these conflicts.

The book begins with two general chapters which set out a theoretical framework and remind us of the symptoms of culture shock. Chapter three ambitiously sets out to background China's history, geography, philosophy, and its ethnic, political, economic, and linguistic situations in eighteen pages. It succeeds remarkably well, though detail and specificity have necessarily been sacrificed. Chapters four, five, and six deal in depth with individuals and their place in society, and with social relationships and interactions. Chapter seven usefully explains the Chinese concepts of "face" and *guanxi*, a word for which the English equivalent, "relationship", is an inadequate translation. Having defined these concepts, Brick shows how they might influence inter-cultural communication. Chapter eight is a skillful and up-to-date account of Chinese social values. The final chapter is the most important. It clarifies important differences in Chinese and Western concepts of the nature of learning and teaching, the role of the student, and the role of the teacher.

Although the book is grounded in Australian experience, both its principles and the practical tasks it suggests are readily transferable to any English-language classroom. The classroom tasks are one of the great strengths of the book, and many of them sound very effective, but occasional vagueness made this reader wonder if all of them had been thoroughly tested in the classroom.

The suggestions for further reading in the bibliography are a little uneven and do not do full justice to the wealth of excellent material now available in English. The Commercial Press's excellent new language textbook, *Chinese for Today*, for example, might have been included in place of one of the two reference grammars.

But these are minor issues. A copy of this practical, readable, useful book should be available to every teacher who works with Chinese-speaking learners. And if, as the cover suggests, this book is the beginning of a series of handbooks on intercultural communication from Macquarie's National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, then further volumes will be eagerly awaited.

Language and Culture, Series One. National Centre for English Language Testing and Research, Macquarie University, Sydney, 1991.

Ellen Soulliere is a lecturer at the School of Languages and Communication at Wellington Polytechnic.

Samoa Workbook
by David Bell. Reviewed by Pepe Robertson and Leith Wallace.

The low price of this book ($9.95) undoubtedly made it attractive to many schools, as it is into its second edition. This is a great pity, as it is poorly written and full of inaccuracies.

The errors begin on the first page of text: "For

many years Western Samoa was a part of New Zealand and its people were New Zealand citizens." (P3.) This statement is repeated in a "History" section which bears little relation to the facts of recent Samoan history.

Some other examples are: "A *fale* has a thatched roof and rolled-up mats which are let down at night ..." (p13). The correct term is "blinds".

"The Samoan word for a feast is *luau* (p14). Luau means "feast" in Hawaii. In Samoa, lu'au refers to a particular delicacy: simple checking with a dictionary would have revealed this fact. Use of a dictionary would also have given the correct spelling of *pisupo*.

"The *umu* is just like a Maori hangi. ...All you need to do is dig a hole big enough to suit the size of the meal." (P19.) An umu is made above ground, not in a hole, and is not covered with earth or sand. An excellent photo sequence in "*Crinkum-Crankum*" of the Ready to Read series, published by Learning Media, demonstrates the making of an umu.

"The most respected and important man in the village is the *matai*." (P20.) Women can hold matai titles, there can be several matai in a village, and the pastor also has a position of great importance.

Plantations are not called gardens (p10), and potatoes do not grow in Samoa. Nor do mussels. The terms "tribe" and "tribal life" (p31) are also inaccurate, but one of the most glaring errors is on page thirty-three.

"In the earlier times Captain Cook introduced English laws and government. Then in 1914 New Zealand governed Western Samoa. At that time all Western Samoans were New Zealand citizens."

Captain Cook did not even visit Samoa! Nor did he introduce English laws and government to any of the islands he visited. The lack of scholarship and research in this book is surprising. Primary school pupils may well pick up errors such as this; it is to be hoped that their teachers have.

Throughout the book children are given tasks to do: copy, colour-in, trace, unjumble words and fill gaps in sentences. There is nothing other than simple mechanical exercises, and no attempt has been made to relate the tasks to the skills listed in the Social Studies handbooks.

The illustrations in the book are also wrong. For example, the matai on page twenty-one is dressed Tongan-style, while the children on page eleven are wearing shoes and European-style clothing, and are shown playing English cricket.

Where the book is not actually inaccurate it is patronising and stereotypical in its tone:

"The people are brown-skinned with a happy outlook on life. They are usually strong and healthy. This is because they live a lot in the fresh air and eat more natural food." (P4.)

"There is not much need for furniture in a fale. Beds are just mats with pillows under a mosquito net. The TV is placed in a good dry spot and there might be a few old easy chairs scattered about. ...It is very different but living in a fale is certainly comfortable and cool." (P13.)

These are just some examples; there are too many to quote in full.

Virtually no mention is made in the book of the influence of the early missionaries and the central place the Christian church has in present-day Samoan life. The final chapter is full of presumption and paternalism. The author both predicts future problems for Samoa and gives his own solutions.

"One of their big problems will probably be population. ...The Samoans, in future years, will probably have to think about having smaller families..."

It is surprising that so little checking was done on this book, and that it was allowed to run to a second edition without these faults being picked up. A copy of these comments was sent to Heinemann, who have promised to revise the book. We look forward to seeing the new, corrected, edition.

Heinemann Education, Auckland, 1991

Pepe Robertson and Leith Wallace are tutors at the Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre.

Teaching One to One
by Tim Murphey

Rediscovering Interlanguage
by Larry Selinker.

Reviewed by Marilyn Lewis.

Two recent books from Longman will be of interest to second-language teachers of English, or of any other language. One addresses practical aspects of teaching; the other summarises an important aspect of research into second-language acquisition.

Murphey approaches the topic of working with learners individually from a number of angles, all of them highly readable and personal to his own experiences ("I feel...", "I thoroughly agree...", "I have discovered..."). His opening invitation to reflect on our regular patterns of social interaction and to relate these to the role of teacher and student sets the scene.

Some advice is given via case studies and his observations on them. As well as finding out that he has taught in eating places where one student

would pick up the lunch bill, we are offered organisational hints, such as distinguishing between the "meetings as valuable exchanges" and "artificial meetings between friends", a distinction which some home tutors find can become blurred. He suggests a "personal profile", where potential students describe the use they will be making of the new language and ways in which the teacher can help. His example of a note-taking sheet on which students' errors are noted without interrupting the talk could be expanded for a number of purposes.

Readers looking for reference to current trends will be pleased to see notes on self-directed learning and learners' journals. Despite the title, there is some information on other forms of teaching in a chapter called "Implications for regular classroom teaching".

Teaching One to One will be useful to someone embarking on this form of teaching for the first time. The teacher discussion-group topics in the appendices also make it a handy source for the many home tutor training sessions that are held throughout the country, including the "'self-help" meetings that tutors often organise for themselves after formal training is over.

Selinker's book is for the more serious reader. When I first showed it to a group of teachers they sighed, saying it would have been just right when they were "doing" second language acquisition. On the assumption that they, and others, will be interested in the topic long after the last assignment is handed in, I recommend *Rediscovering Interlanguage* as a scholarly volume by an author who has been thinking and writing about the topic for a quarter of a century.

For many teachers today the interest in learner language starts when they take up the challenge to analyse what is happening in their own classrooms: how the teacher talks to students, how students talk to the teacher and to one another. Thus questions about "interlanguage", a word which might once have fallen from the lips of academics only, are now asked by teachers as well.

The text provides an historical overview of the interest in interlanguage, as well as addressing a number of questions that have been of concern during that time. What practical problems stand in the way of contrastive analysis? How real is the notion of fossilisation? What messages should be taken from learners' errors? What is currently thought about the effect of the first language on the second? The appendix of English sentences obtained from American and Israeli school children complements the theory presented in the text.

The book is widely cross-referenced, making it easy to make links with whatever aspects of the topic a reader has already thought about. An author gives thought to the sequence in which a book is presented. This one is in chronological order from the 1940s to the present. At the risk of interfering with that sequence I would suggest to anyone who wants to explore the topic but feels daunted by the terms used that a starting point could be one of the dialogues of researchers talking to one another (as opposed to writing papers) which appear towards the end of the book.

Teaching One to One: Longman, London and New York, 1991.
Rediscovering Interlanguage: Longman, London and New York, 1992.

Marilyn Lewis is a Senior lecturer for the Diploma in English Language Teaching at Auckland University.

An Evaluation of the On-Arrival Refugee Education Programme from a Cambodian Perspective
by Keryn L McDermott and Man Hau Liev.
Reviewed by Lorraine Majka.

This report discusses a unique refugee assistance assessment strategy developed by a coalition of teachers to determine whether the work of the Mangere Refugee Education Programme in Auckland actually benefits refugees.

The Mangere Programme, an affiliate of the Auckland Institute of Technology, assists new refugee arrivals in the early resettlement stage with the process of building new lives for themselves and their loved ones. Towards this end, Mangere's staff offer a six-week instructional programme for new immigrants. The programme incorporates an English as a Second Language component and a unit oriented to assisting refugees with adapting to life in New Zealand, including using the network of mainstream services available in the Auckland area.

Although the Mangere programme operated in a relatively stable form for three years, little was known about entrants' opinions concerning the work conducted on their behalf. Little data was also available on the initiative's effectiveness in meeting Cambodian refugees' needs. To rectify this situation, and in conjunction with various outside experts, the programme's administrators and staff had Cambodian refugees participate in the design, implementation, and analysis of a culturally-sensitive and scientific model of assistance assessment.

Kurt Lewin's action research model was used as the basis of the assessment methodology. Lewin's approach called for the maximum participation of the cultural group which was the subject of the research. His democratic research strategy also mandated planning, testing, reflecting on, and refining assessment instruments primarily on the basis of refugees' ethnic-specific comments and

suggestions.

The report relates that other parts of the research design also made maximum use of the resources and insights only refugees can bring to an evaluation of aid endeavours conducted on their behalf. In this regard, three Cambodian people were trained to question potential respondents, in an attempt to overcome the common historical-cultural barriers that traditionally plague the exchange between host interviewers and indigenous populations. Moreover, all items used in the assessment, as well as the entire interview schedule, were checked, tested, and validated against the norms, expectations, and needs of Cambodian refugees themselves. Lastly, after extensive efforts to locate and network with members of the local Khmer community, approximately 10% (45) of the total population of Cambodians settled in Auckland in the 1988-1989 period became the focus of the assessment.

The report reveals that this painstaking research effort yielded many significant conclusions. On one level, the findings showed that the Mangere Refugee Education Programme was providing a service that undoubtedly improved refugees' quality of life and very chances of survival in the host society. Indeed, a segment of Auckland's Cambodian population appeared to be more confident, acclimatised to their new environment, and skilled in the performance of everyday tasks because of their contact with Mangere's Education Programme. On another level, the assessment indicated that Cambodians thought several gaps and omissions remained at various stages of the educational process. Most notably, newcomers believed that the Mangere Programme should intensify its efforts to equip refugees with the diversity of verbal and written skills needed for dealing with various government departments and local authorities. The evaluation also revealed that the programme would be more helpful to Khmer refugees and their families if it helped them with the difficult task of gaining access to English language classes upon their relocation from the Mangere Reception Centre to the broader society. Finally, the assessment provided Mangere administrators and staff with important feedback about the content and scope of their curriculum.

After reading this report, an outside evaluator might raise questions about the sampling method, the sample size, the *ex post facto* nature of the research, and the generalising of the study's findings to include all Khmer refugees assisted by the Mangere Centre and other programmes. While valid and crucial issues, these methodological concerns pale when compared to the contributions this report makes to the field of refugee assistance and programme assessment. In a world where many nations' refugee assistance assessment tools primarily focus on organisational productivity quotas, performance standards, policy priorities, and funders' service delivery agendas, the grassroots-oriented approach to assessment presented in this report deserves high praise and special attention.

This study is strongly recommended for evaluators, practitioners, academics, and others who have a genuine interest in improving refugees' quality of life and chances of survival in host societies. May the methodological advances described in this report mark the beginning of an era where refugee assistance assessment strategies shed some light on refugees' opinions about the quality, quantity, and process of assistance, as well as on whether aid endeavours actually benefit the consumers of the service.

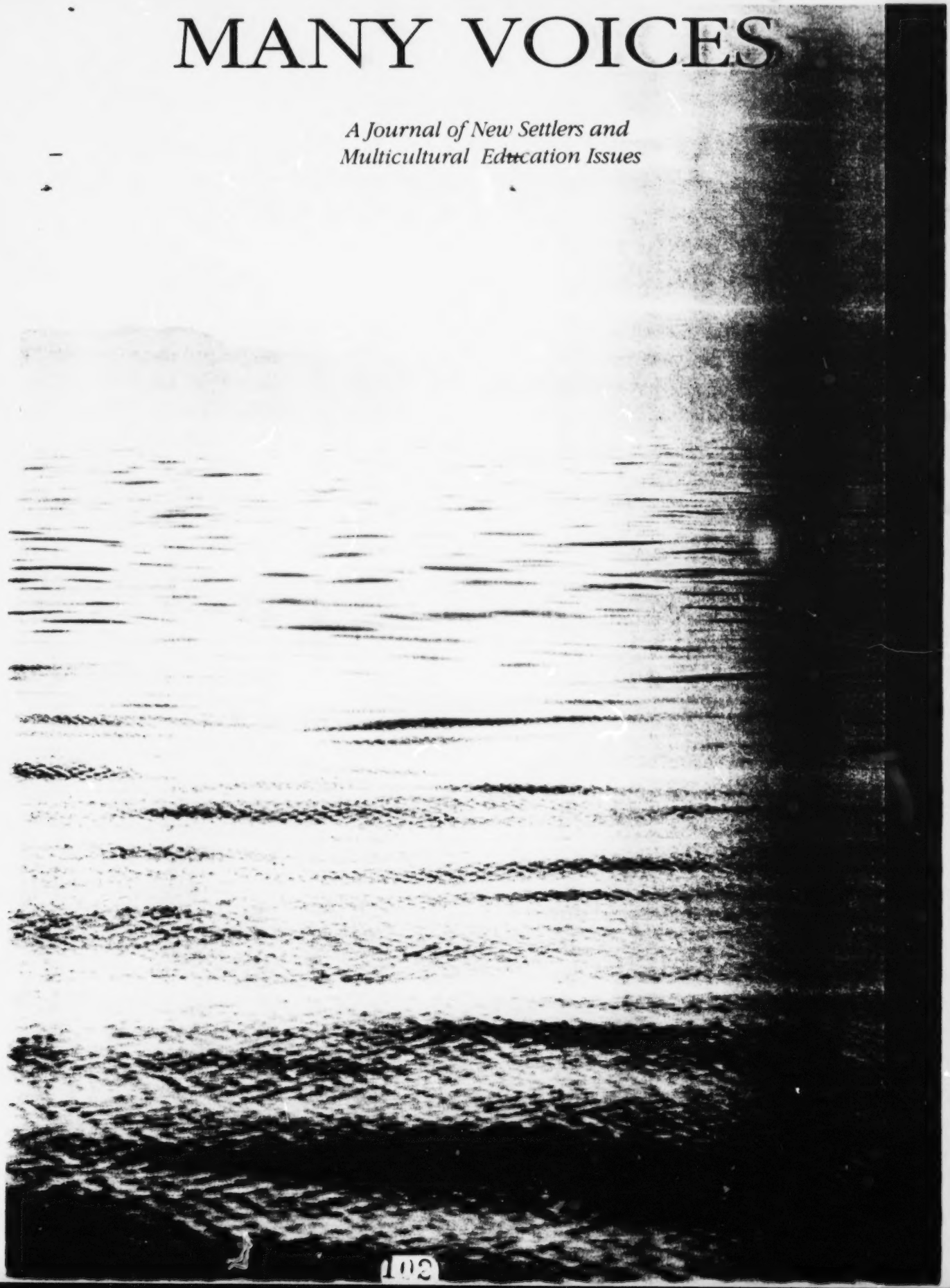
Mangere Refugee Education Programme, Auckland Institute of Technology: Auckland, New Zealand, 1991.

Lorraine Majka is at LaTrobe University, Department of Sociology, Melbourne, Australia.

This review first appeared in *Refugee Participation Network* No. 13, June 1992, Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University.

MANY VOICES

A Journal of New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues



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Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington

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by Maartje Quivooy

I remember the still green grave
Of my forefathers
Resting where they were born
How far away it seems
Light years
Now I am older
The longing for my origin whispers
Will I ever get used to being a stranger?
Look at me, my granddaughter
Look deep into my eyes
It is for you I will be
The still green grave
One day
It is for you
To know where you belong.

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Introduction

Tena koutou katoa.

Common themes link many of the articles in this issue. The main theme is one of understanding and working together with people from different cultural and ethnic groups. How real this effort is, and how successful, is discussed in the first article, which describes a school that has made considerable changes to its organisation in a strong commitment to achieving equality for all students. Why we should make an effort is answered by reference to the scenes shown nightly on our television screens, as warring groups take ethnic divisions to tragic excess. The articles making a plea for understanding refugee students and for support for programmes in Viet Nam and Cambodia should also be seen in this light.

Several articles were written with reference to a particular level of education, but will be applicable to a wider audience. Teachers working with adults will find the article on helping reluctant readers at Hillary College useful, while the article on the Clothing and Design Foundation Course at Otago Polytechnic is a good example of how students can learn English while learning practical skills for employment. The same principle underlies language across the curriculum courses.

That which is of benefit to ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) students is often also of benefit to other students in a class. This important point is made in the article about the peer-tutor support programme at Otago Polytechnic. This point has been made several times in this journal and its predecessor: readers are referred to the article by Adrienne Jansen in *Many Voices 1*, "Maximising Opportunities Within the System: The educational track". It was also discussed in an article by Rose Russell in *New Settlers and Multicultural Education Issues*, Vol. 7 No. 3 1990, entitled "The ESOL Support Programme for the National Certificate in Business Course". *Many Voices* is not seen as being for ESOL teachers only; good teaching practices and an awareness of individual needs will benefit all students in an institution.

The articles by Stephen May, Bev Stone, Trinh Thi Sao, Nikhat Shameem, and Yek Hong Lok are edited versions of papers presented at the Third National Conference on Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages held in Auckland in August 1992.

Leith Wallace

Making Multicultural Education Work

by Stephen May

It seems a long time ago now since we were talking in New Zealand education about the merits of assimilation and its not too different successor, integration. These days, we have put such imperialism behind us, and those of us who still think of ourselves as liberals (and there are not many of us left, admittedly), and who are still concerned by the differential outcomes we see in education, particularly for Maori and other minority groups, have turned instead to multicultural education and the fostering of "cultural pluralism" as the answer to the educational problems facing these particular groups.

Benevolent Multiculturalism

The British School Council's view of multicultural education states:

"In a society which believes in cultural pluralism, the challenge for teachers is to meet the particular needs of pupils from different religious, linguistic and ethnic sub-cultures.... All pupils need to acquire knowledge and sensitivity to other cultural groups through a curriculum which offers opportunities to study other religions, languages, and cultures.... At all stages this may enhance pupils' attitudes and performance at school through development of a sense of identity and self-esteem."

It seems, as Bullivant observes, that "for the time being, educationists in ... pluralist societies have adopted, or are moving into, multicultural education as the claimed panacea to cure the ills that beset their educational systems." Such enthusiasm has drawn criticisms from conservatives and radicals alike.

Conservatives may fear the formation of a new ideology which is significantly different from previous assimilationist and integrationist commitments. Or is multicultural education, despite its best intentions, little different from these previous ideologies of pluralism, which in their own times have also been posited as the solution to the problems surrounding the education of minority children, only to have subsequently had their weaknesses exposed, and to have been superseded by another?

The answer would appear to be the latter. Multicultural education may be, arguably, more benign than its assimilationist and integrationist predecessors but, beyond its well-meaning rhetoric, it is no more effective. One of the key reasons for this ineffectiveness lies in the theoretical dearth which underpins much of the multicultural debate.

There is an enormous amount of conceptual confusion over the actual terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education". Bullivant suggests that the proliferation of definitions ascribed to the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education" has led not only to confusion about what the terms mean, but to a questioning of whether they retain any general meaning at all. If there is any consensus about what multicultural education involves (and this is not easy to find) it seems to revolve around three somewhat dubious claims:

(i) that learning about their cultures will enhance the self-esteem of ethnic-minority children and consequently improve their educational achievement;

(ii) that ethnic recognition in the curriculum will lead to greater equality of educational opportunity for ethnic-minority children;

(iii) and that learning about other cultures and traditions will reduce discrimination within and, eventually, outside of the classroom.

Admirable as these aims might appear, they have led to the dominance of what Gibson has described as "benevolent" or "naive" multiculturalism. Benevolent multiculturalism is often translated pedagogically into an "additive" approach to the curriculum, where an "ethnic" component is tacked on to an existing syllabus, and is usually intended to boost the education of children from minority backgrounds rather than form the basis for a common course taken by everyone at the school. Such an approach emphasises the importance of cultural and ethnic identity as the major feature of a pluralist society (and education system) but fails to consider what it is that determines successful negotiations for ethnic-minority groups in their interactions with the dominant groups in society, and within education. In so doing, pluralism is confused with diversity and, as Olneck observes, what results is that "multicultural education as ordinarily practised tends to merely 'insert' minorities into the dominant cultural frame of reference ... to be transmitted within dominant cultural forms ... and to leave obscured and intact existing cultural hierarchies and criteria of stratification."

The result is an emphasis on life-styles rather than life-chances. Bullivant clearly reiterates this concern in his comment: "...selections for the curriculum that encourage children from ethnic backgrounds to learn about their cultural heritage, languages, histories, customs, and other aspects of their life-styles have little bearing on their equality of educational opportunity and life-chances."

It seems, then, that when questions of power come into the analysis the equating of diversity

with equality begins to look doubtful. The assertions — that raising the self-esteem of minority children will result in their educational emancipation, and that programmes highlighting cultural difference will ameliorate the structural disadvantage that minority children face — prove to be hollow in benevolent multicultural education. The net result may actually work against the life-chances of children from minority backgrounds. The valuing of cultural differences, while appearing to act solely for the best interests of ethnic groups, simply masks the unchanged nature of power relations.

Harker has argued that adding an "ethnic" component to the curriculum to achieve "cultural pluralism" is inadequate, since there will always be educational inequalities attributed to social and ethnic origin while we have a curriculum organised around the knowledge code of the dominant group. What happens with benevolent approaches to multicultural education is that they are accommodated into this overall process of acculturation to the dominant group — which is why nothing much changes for minority groups within education. This may well explain, for example, the minimal impact of "taha Maori" as a multicultural initiative and the criticism it has received, particularly from Maori educationalists.

Beyond Benevolent Multiculturalism

What is required, then, to change all of this — what ought schools to be doing?

Harker has defined a genuine multicultural system as one which would not only have various knowledge codes in operation, but would have "...a variety of ways of transmitting these knowledge codes using culturally appropriate pedagogical methods, and with a variety of options available to evaluate when successful transmission has taken place. It goes without saying that such a system would be bilingual (or multilingual)."

If cultural pluralism is to get anywhere near being a reality in schools it needs to be enacted in plural structures. And if minority children's educational performance is ever to be enhanced within the present system, it will be in those schools where cultural pluralism is recognised within the structures of the school. Such recognition takes cognisance of the power relations that are mediated through the school system and any effect of cumulative disadvantage which might result for minority students.

This redefinition of multicultural education has significant consequences for schools in terms of their curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. As Bernstein argues, all these, as traditionally construed, reflect the knowledge code of the dominant group. It also has consequences for school organisation. It is within these categories identified by Bernstein and with the addition of school organisation that the multicultural educational approach at Richmond Road School is examined. It will be shown that by deliberately fostering an inclusive approach to minority cultures and languages (the two are seen as indivisible by the school) which is reflected within the structures of the school, Richmond Road is beginning to break the cycle of marginalisation that minority groups have faced, and which has resulted in the disproportionate number of minority students failing in schools. It is these processes and the relations of force implicit in them that Richmond Road consciously aims to resist, by promoting the recognition, affirmation, and celebration of cultural difference within the school. In so doing, Richmond Road demonstrates the truth of Cummins's assertion that "...widespread school failure does not occur in minority groups that are positively oriented towards both their own and the dominant culture, that do not perceive themselves as inferior to the dominant group, and that are not alienated from their own cultural values."

Richmond Road School

The following information about Richmond Road has been gathered over the course of the 1990 and 1991 school years from personal observation, interviews, informal discussions with the principal, current and past staff, and friends of the school, and from the extensive documentation the school has collected and chronicled on its educational approach.

Richmond Road School is situated in the inner-city area of Auckland, in Ponsonby, and is a multi-ethnic state primary school. The school had, as at February 1991, 213 pupils and 18.2 staff. The school's ethnic composition is predominantly Pacific Islands and consisted of, as at April 1989, 21 percent Samoan, 18 percent Maori, 18 percent Pakeha, 13 percent Cook Islands, 13 percent Tongan, 6 percent Niuean, 3 percent Indian, 2 percent Tokelauan, 4 percent Fijian, West Indian, Malaysian, and Japanese, and 1 percent "other". The school has on site: a kōhanga reo that has been operating for five years; an a'oga fa'a Samoa (Samoan language group) that started in the first term of 1989; and an apii reo Kuki Airani (Cook Islands pre-school) that started in 1990. The school itself offers a Maori bilingual programme, a Samoan bilingual programme, and a Cook Islands bilingual programme (the latter began in 1991). There are also two English-language programmes operating, as well as an inner-city second-language unit for recent arrivals that teaches English through the mother tongue. The following discussion isolates the key

characteristics of the school (albeit in an inevitably arbitrary way), which have seen it develop and effectively implement a meaningful and effective multicultural education for minority children.

Language

The bilingual structures which the school has adopted suggest that the role of languages within the school is central to Richmond Road's approach to multicultural education. Moreover, if multicultural education is to be meaningfully established at the school level, this is where it must start. Having said that, teachers within the school would also argue that the fostering of language(s) cannot be separated from the cultural context from which the language springs, nor from the type of society one would wish to see result. Richmond Road locates its view of the role of languages in the school within a wider frame of reference: that of recognising and affirming cultural respect, autonomy, and difference through the structures of the school. The bilingual structure of the school is determined within this broader context. Lionel Pedersen, the current principal, argues that "...the school is about a way of living, rather than just language. It is no use knowing the language at the expense of cultural tradition — all it becomes then is a translation, however fluent, of Pakeha culture." The fostering of language is important but the cultural context which it represents, and from which it comes, should never be lost from sight. To this end, the school endorses Baker's observation that "...to support a language without supporting its attendant culture is to fund an expensive life-support machine attached to someone culturally dead or dying."

The children's use of their first language is, however, encouraged wherever possible within the school and, in the case of the Maori, Samoan, and Cook Islands bilingual rôpû (groups), is formalised in a bilingual curriculum. The bilingual rôpû are accordingly based on a dual-medium approach to language. During half of each morning and every other afternoon, the teachers speak only the minority language and children are encouraged to respond in the same language. At other times, English is spoken. When the minority language is in use pupils are not required to speak the language prescribed if they do not wish to. This might be a weakness of the programmes, since low-status languages such as these need as much support as possible within the school to avoid being swamped beyond it. The school's approach is consistent, though, with its broader conception of the role of languages. It also accords with the identification of choice as a crucial variable in the success of bilingual programmes, and simply extends that notion to include children as well as parents and the wider community. Moreover, the bilingual ethos of the school clearly endorses a maintenance rather than a transitional view of bilingual education. As the previous principal, Jim Laughton, eloquently argues: "...bilingual education ...wisely conceived ...[can] make a difference — as an act of respect and humility by the powerful, as an expression of confidence and determination by the powerless, and as an exercise in genuine communication among all."

The importance of the mother tongue, then, permeates the language philosophy of the school. Language and culture are regarded as an area of strength and competency for all children, and the teachers recognise and acknowledge Ken Goodman's observation that if as teachers they undermine a child's language, they also undermine that child's ability to learn.

Rôpû

Also central to the school's approach to multicultural education is the arrangement of the various language programmes into rôpû. Rôpû are vertical groups which are based on the whânau model and on the non-graded rural school. Each rôpû consists of the entire range of pupils, from new entrants through to standard four (and, since this year, form two). Children stay in the same rôpû, with the same teachers, right through their primary schooling. Parents, on bringing their children to the school, are given the choice of which rôpû they wish their children to go into. This overcomes the significant problem of ambivalence or confusion for parents as to the role of home languages in the school, because parents are able to clearly identify what the school offers in comparison to others. They can then make their choice within the variety of language structures the school offers. Teachers have the same pupils for six to eight years. This means that staff come to know the families particularly well, further fostering community and school interchange over this time.

The vertical/family groupings of children and the various language options they represent have arisen from the vision of Jim Laughton, and his desire to see the school curriculum reflect the ethnic diversity of the community it serves. Laughton saw such groupings as a means of giving "institutionalised power" to minority children who might otherwise not have had access to it in a society where dominant power relations are perpetuated through schooling. His aim was to increase the alternatives for minority children through the rôpû structure by:

(i) increasing the age and ability range children were in contact with;
(ii) providing children with opportunities to experience a variety of roles and to develop an

appropriate range of social skills;
(iii) assisting the growth of self respect through the recognition of ethnic diversity, and the wide range of skills, interests, and cultural perspectives children would bring to the group as a whole.

Such an organisation, he argued, gives more power and choices to everyone. There is more room for independence, but this is paralleled by the expectation that responsibility towards the whole group be accepted. A collective school document outlines the process:

"...inherent within the whānau organisation is the integration of belief systems which emphasise group rather than individual values. If cultural maintenance is to be a priority at Richmond Road School then stress must be placed on values which contribute to the strength of the group as a whole rather than on those which are individualistic. This kind of system is necessary to support cultural transmission in the curriculum."

This means that cultural features which emphasise collectivism take precedence over those which are individualistic, and this forms the basis for the co-operation, rather than competition, which characterises the ethos of the school. Acceptance of this kind of responsibility is inherent in the family-group organisation; is seen socially, by demonstrated care for others; and is seen educationally through peer-support activities, such as paired reading. The latter activity, for example, sees children with competency at any particular reading level (not necessarily the best in the group) involved in working with other children who are at earlier stages of development. This encourages the growth of skills which will lead to independence within a supportive, co-operative environment, and is consistent with the values of the minority cultures of many of the students:

"Family grouping ...rests on the idea of integration of differences — differences of ethnicity, age, ability, gender, interest, and knowledge. These factors are brought together so children may grow in knowledge, appreciation, and respect for themselves and others.... they are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning and to support the learning process of those around them."

Staff Collaboration

The relational commitment which whānau structures foster within the school is also seen in the collective approach to teaching that has been adopted by the staff. The largely open-plan setting of the school allows for most of the rōpū to be taught in "shared spaces", and a principle of the school is that there will always be two teachers in every room. This allows the rōpū to be further divided into "home groups", each of which, given the school numbers at present, comprises between sixteen to twenty pupils who are the responsibility of an individual teacher. Home groups are the basic teaching groups, and it is the pupils in them who are monitored and reported on to parents by individual teachers.

The team-teaching approach that the rōpū structure demands requires a highly structured timetable, so that pupils can become familiar with daily routines and can gain security from knowing what comes next. Hodson argues that children learn best in this type of secure environment, where they can explore, test, share, communicate, and develop their ideas in an atmosphere of trust and confidence. He goes on to suggest that teachers will best achieve a revolution in their own curriculum understanding and expertise if they adopt similar methods. This collectivity is very apparent in the staff of Richmond Road and it also encompasses the management of the school, where the principal and the two associate principals work collaboratively as an administrative team. The associate principals rotate this responsibility, spending two weeks in a class which they share with another teacher, and two weeks in the office. This ensures that the administration does not lose touch with what is happening in the classroom, and is aimed at preventing potential isolation between those who administer and those who teach in the school. Responsibility is shared, and non-hierarchical relationships are emphasised. As the principal, Pedersen, argues, the aim of the school is to break down pedagogical isolation by rejecting artificial class grouping by age, and through shared administration and teaching.

Curriculum Development

This collaboration is closely allied with staff development generally and curriculum development in particular. Teachers are released every morning to look at curriculum issues, and staff meetings, which are held every Tuesday after school and regularly continue into early evening, focus on co-operation and staff development. This involvement in curriculum development by staff is also supported through the organisation of staff into curriculum teams which deliberately cut across the rōpū teaching teams. These teams develop resources for the curriculum during the course of the year (which must include all ethnic groups represented in the school community), supervise these materials, and provide support for staff working in other areas. Teachers prepare these resources at ten levels of reading independence, and children are able to use this material without the teacher's

control or superimposed opinions about what the outcomes will be. This allows children opportunities to explore and investigate ideas in a variety of different ways, either individually or co-operatively, and depending on style, preference, and interest. If a child at one level of literacy, for example, wants access to resource material at a higher level, she or he can negotiate with another child at the appropriate level of literacy for that activity. Each child knows their own level of reading independence and those of others within the rōpū because the information is displayed on charts; not, as in many cases, as a means of ranking, but rather as a means of identifying for the children whom they can go to for support and whom they can assist.

Reading

Each reading level is organised into four different learning arrangements: superior/inferior, co-operative, collaborative, and independent. *Superior/inferior arrangements* are those which usually characterise the school curriculum. One person (who is almost always the teacher) conveys information to those who lack it (who are invariably the pupils). Richmond Road accepts that superior/inferior arrangements are a part of educational life, but does not endorse the notion that the teacher should always occupy the former position. A pupil, or a parent, may be recognised as having expertise in a particular field (such as a particular language or culture) which they can be called upon to impart in the classroom. The contrast between these two approaches is captured by R.S. Peters' distinction between "assigned" and "provisional" authority. Assigned authority focuses on the responsibility of the teacher to dispense knowledge, while provisional authority is described by Peters as that held by the person "who knows the most" in a given situation.

Co-operative arrangements put children into shared situations where they support each other while completing a task. These groups are usually self-chosen and encompass a wide range of skills and ability. They foster the notion of co-operation rather than competition, and aim to reduce children's fear of failure through active participation in a supportive system which demands corporate, rather than individual, accountability.

Collaborative arrangements bring children together in situations which require shared understanding because those involved have different information that they are required to put together to complete a task. This involves children in the sharing of information, the negotiation of meaning, and debate until consensus is reached. Children are free to express a wide range of their own ideas, beliefs, values, and attitudes in order to produce a shared conclusion, although it is the process of negotiation, rather than the eventual outcome, which is emphasised.

Independent arrangements allow each child the opportunity to operate at his or her own speed and level, with materials suited to individual needs and interests. In this way, independence is developed and the child is encouraged to take responsibility for her or his own learning. This learning is still, however, tied to the underlying principle of co-operation, because it aims to encourage the acceptance of responsibility for knowledge already held, rather than encouraging independent learning at the expense of others.

Encompassing all the various learning strategies are resource materials designed to introduce concepts, themes, and base stories to the whole group. This gives the coherence and continuity necessary for drawing together the variety of activities in which children can be involved.

Monitoring

The accurate matching of instructional materials to the children's levels of reading competence is an essential prerequisite for all these learning arrangements, and requires constant, ongoing monitoring to ensure that accurate matching does occur. Regular monitoring of individual reading is maintained within home groups, and running records of children's reading progress are kept. These records include not only reading levels, but also skills or cues used, needed, or misused. The instructional level, for example, where a child reads fluently, independently, and with understanding, requires 95 percent accuracy with at least a 1:3 self-correction rate, while the easy reading level (for library and taking home) is 98 to 100 percent. Laughton states that the monitoring process can determine this because it "...entails observation of behaviour in familiar contexts using familiar processes but is often focused on unfamiliar content." Its purpose is to find out how the pupil operates, and the function of familiarity "...is to facilitate access to underlying competence, imperfectly reflected at best in the student's performance." Laughton argues that monitoring should, as a result, replace testing as the principal form of assessment in schools because the latter is more concerned with finding out what a pupil does not know and is, as such, intrinsically less effective in gauging the competencies and skills of students.

Writing

Finally, Richmond Road's approach to written language incorporates similar ideals and strategies to those adopted in reading. Koch's description of the writing process as "learned terror" for many children is recognised as

characteristic of many approaches to writing in schools, and is specifically avoided at Richmond Road School. Emphasis is placed, instead, on making writing fun. Writing is de-emphasised as a separate activity, and is encouraged as a necessary part of other curriculum activities. This accords with the principle of language experience, which characterises the language programme as a whole, where children are encouraged to develop and expand language in the context of experiences, books, and/or events. Closely allied to this is the recognition of children as experts in the writing process. The different cultural, linguistic, and personal responses children incorporate into learning to write, and the experimentation necessarily involved in such a process, are encouraged, while the notion of teaching a "correct" writing model is discounted. As a result a variety of writing activities are employed: private writing, supported writing, and co-operative writing.

Private writing is characterised by little, if any, teacher correction. Children are encouraged to express themselves freely in writing and to view writing, accordingly, as an effective means of personal communication. A time is set aside each day for writing of this kind, which is not corrected and is only shared at the child's discretion. Private writing can also include pre-writing, or rehearsal, which emphasises for children the developmental nature of the writing process.

Supported writing involves providing a framework for writing, such as the retelling of favourite stories, the completion of stories, or the writing of stories from a different point of view. Whatever framework is adopted, however, support is always available to the children when required.

Co-operative writing sees children working together in accomplishing a task which includes written work.

All these writing varieties (along with those established for reading) are employed in the construction and use of curriculum resources.

Conclusion

These aspects of Richmond Road's educational approach, taken together, attempt to actualise the school's concern with breaking the cycle of marginalisation for minority groups in schooling. Their development within the school has also been closely allied with the expectations and participation of the local school community. Ethnic groups within the community are drawn on for their cultural expertise in the development and, at times, teaching of resources. The pre-schools, which are community run, provide direct links between the school and local ethnic groups, as well as providing many of the children who go on to the bilingual rōpū within the school.

Parents are welcome to observe or participate in the rōpū at any time, and often do so, and school functions are always strongly supported. This degree of parental involvement is the exception, rather than the rule, in most schools, but it is particularly unusual for ethnic-minority group parents, who often feel alienated by the school process. Parental involvement and the prominent place of ethnic-minority groups within the school are also reflected in its managing body, the Board of Trustees, which has a majority of Maori and Pacific Islands representatives. These direct links between school and community have led, as a former deputy principal observes, to "...a very warm community relationship."

What has resulted at Richmond Road School, then, is an approach to multicultural education which has sought to reconstitute the school environment to the real educational advantage of minority students. In implementing these ideas certain values are prerequisites: difference is never equated with deficiency; co-operation is fostered, not competition; cultural respect is seen as essential to developing a pluralistic society; and the school's function to this end is directed towards increasing a child's options rather than changing them. The reasons for the success of the multicultural structures which operate at Richmond Road can be summarised by the following characteristics.

- The various *school structures* have been developed over many years and have had much to do with Jim Laughton's commitment (and those who have followed him) to establishing them over that time. Establishing an informed and effective approach to multicultural education, and the talking and working through of structural change which that requires, is neither a short, nor easy, process.
- The process of *change has involved staff* co-operatively and collaboratively and has led to a significant coherence and consistency across the curriculum and a great deal of mutual support between teachers, as well as including the discussion of curriculum issues as a natural part of school life.
- That involvement has seen the development of a *high degree of theoretical literacy* among the teachers. In fact, a knowledge of educational theory is regarded as the essential prerequisite to achieving an effective multiculturalism at Richmond Road. Pedersen argues that "...there is no substitute for wide teacher knowledge..." and suggests that the result of this has been "...that the actual knowledge of the mechanics of teaching [among the staff] is massively high."

- This conversancy with theory has resulted in an *approach to multicultural education* which "...moves beyond theorising about our practice along the lines of 'this works for me', to asking questions instead about why we act as we do, and whose interests are served by continuing in this manner."

There is a whakatauki (proverb) which the school is fond of and which seems to encapsulate its ethos well:

> Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora te tangata.
>
> Your food basket, my food basket, will give life to the people.

An educational ideal such as this is not, arguably, unusual for a school to espouse, but what is unusual is to see in practice the degree of commitment, political motivation, and structural reform necessary to turn the rhetoric into reality. Richmond Road demonstrates the kind of environment in which multicultural education can finally be invested with some real meaning. However, the price has been high because, as Pedersen argues, multicultural education "...has to be about whole life; about social and political structure and change; otherwise it's a waste of time." It is only when this recognition occurs, and when it is tied to structural reform in schools, that multicultural education can begin to move beyond a preoccupation with life-styles to address and contest the issues of power relations as they affect the life-chances of minority children. Only then will multicultural education begin to make a difference.

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This article was presented as a paper at the Third National Conference on Community Languages and ESOL, August 1992. A book with the same title, covering this topic in much greater depth, will be published by Multilingual Matters in 1994.

Helping Reluctant Readers at Hillary College: The Life Savers Reading System

by Bev Stone

Taking Positive Steps

Today, we are reaping the harvest of a language policy put in place by well-meaning people who were convinced that the only language which needed to be spoken was that of their forbears, the English-speaking people who settled in New Zealand. English was the language that should be used by all: the native tongue would die out so that the children of tomorrow would be well prepared for the future.

The migration to these shores by Polynesian peoples looking for better opportunities for their children provided a fertile ground for these beliefs. Parents were told not to speak their mother tongue but to concentrate on English and, thus, give their children a better chance of a place in this brave new world.

The thing these bringers of a brave new world forgot was that the parents did not have the skills to teach their children English. Thus began the "Granny Factor".

Parents with few language skills in English started to teach fractured English to their children. Seldom speaking their own language, leaving that for the grannies and grandads who were too old to learn the new ways, the parents lost touch with both their language and their culture, in the search for a better life for their children. So the children learned a variety of English that had its grammar structured according to the rules of the parents' mother tongue.

The children began to fail.

These children lost more of their mother tongue as their older relatives died and they communicated with parents and peers in the non-standard English they had been taught. They were slipping between the cracks rapidly.

The children continued to fail.

As schools sought for ways to combat this failure a number of approaches were tried. The significance of the kōhanga reo movement was recognised. Maori children began to learn their own cultural and linguistic heritage and, amazingly, as their Maori improved, so did their English.

At Hillary College, whānau systems were set up, and each ethnic group met in the morning for half an hour, using only their own language and culture.

Ethnic-language classes were set up to strengthen language ability. Cultural groups were also set up. Young people began to know who they were, parents began relearning their mother tongue, and the elderly folk could once again talk to their grandchildren. There was, however, opposition from some, often surprising, sources, such as the old people themselves, who remembered being told that they could get on in the world if they spoke only English.

Hillary College set up English-as-a-second-language classes alongside the mother-tongue classes. Students straight from the islands have direct entry, and are able to take advantage of

peer tutoring until they have a working English vocabulary. Here, computers proved to be the saving grace of the programme, developing confidence, and helping students to build up a basic collection of essential words. With help from their tutors, students progressed rapidly.

It was also valuable to have speakers of different languages on the staff. This ensured that students grew every day in a bilingual atmosphere, and that monolingual teachers became more aware of the value of bilingualism, both for their students and for themselves.

Developing a Reading Programme

Teaching secondary students who have very little English can be very difficult, owing to the lack of material suitable for their age and interest level. While *School Journals* have excellent stories, their content is often outside the experience of students, who can't understand what is needed. Illustrated books are sometimes regarded as an insult to students' intelligence, by depicting children far younger than themselves. Students find it better to imagine characters nearer their own age and looking more like people they know.

So began the saga of the "Life Savers" stories, written today for tomorrow, or this morning for this afternoon, and based on actual happenings within the classroom situation.

Often these stories were the thinly disguised exploits of family and friends. Students frequently recognised similar situations from their own experiences. This has helped them to relate to such stories and to write their own, perhaps using an existing story as a model.

Each book was trialled in the classroom. Room situations or comments often dictated alterations, and these were made as necessary. Each book began life as a handwritten book with room for the reader to do the illustrations. However, this took too much time, and the reader often lost interest before the story was completed. Stage two books were printed as trial copies, with white paper covers. Everyone knew they were to be printed and was keen to take part as a trialist. This was an interesting stage, and everyone had their say about the script and the ensuing activities. From there, the type of activities to be included were finalised, the format was decided, and final copies were selected and printed. Activities involved little actual writing at first, and everyone enjoyed putting them together. In many cases, this certainly extended the original intentions.

Confidence building was important. Where students did not write an answer, but just put a card in the right place, no-one else ever knew how many attempts were needed to get something right. The next stage involved doing activities on individual cards, which needed written answers. It is important to remember that at this stage these students often had tremendous difficulty with transposing things from the distant board to the paper in front of them. The next step for the students was to work from a complete printed worksheet. This took a lot of time but provided valuable practice in dealing with written questions. Students often fail exams because they cannot cope with the format of exam papers.

The use of computers also stimulated interest in reading: after all, you can't complete an activity if you can't read the instructions, and computer instructions are fun, as well as educational.

The teacher worked with students on an individual basis as other students worked on the computer. This allowed students to make tentative guesses and mistakes without an audience. A book had to be read and discussed and an activity had to be completed before students could return to the computer. This proved to be a great incentive.

An interesting spin-off has been the emergence of books to be used in life-skills classes, using the principle of "fiction to fact". The often excellent material designed for these classes proved to be above the reading level of students, and was merely allowing failure to feed on failure. Getting across the concepts through telling a story and following it up with questions designed to develop students' conceptual and factual knowledge of the subject has worked better than we could have imagined. The only complaint now from students is: "Have I got enough time to get it all completed?" From the teachers it is: "Where did all this marking come from?"

Students are now scoring respectable marks, and their comprehension levels have soared. With an initial set of twelve books completed, everyone seems happy. The first book covered the need to timetable one's activities to include everything. I knew it had worked when one chronic failure remarked, "I never realised I had to timetable school and homework too!" He is now achieving considerably better than he was, and has marks towards his Sixth Form Certificate.

Our Āwhina Unit is another class which has benefited from material written specially for it. Gone are the infant readers the students have lived with for years. They now have books written about themselves and things they have experienced. There are no pictures showing "babies"; they have "real" books just like the other high school students. Blown up and put on the wall with appropriate illustrations, the books are truly theirs.

I am also using the Life Savers books with adult students, who for the first time are "reading" books, real books. A thirty-three-year-old student said, "No pictures: I can see things my way." He also found the accompanying

use of a computer was a marvellous morale booster. After a week, he was helping younger students complete cloze exercises.

A woman of twenty who slipped through the net is finding the combination of computer and books fun, and wishes school had been like this. The only problem I have now with these two is getting them to stop.

A Rationale for No Pictures

Do you remember the days before television, the days of books and radios, when you saw everything through your own rose-coloured spectacles? Heroes were always just what you wanted them to be. Then came films, where your characters came alive. Were they the way you had imagined them?

Children and young people today are not asked to exercise their imaginations when everything is presented to them in glorious technicolour. Too many children "read" the pictures and ignore the script. When they get to secondary school, they are ill-equipped to cope with text books that give few or no visual clues. Also, illustrations may be wrong for the reader in terms of age or the ethnic group portrayed.

Students using the Life Savers books feel that they are really reading, not being insulted with "baby books" from past failures. An adult student said recently he wouldn't have tried reading again if he had been given books for kids. His friends did not read books with pictures unless they were car manuals. After all, except for the cover, novels don't usually have illustrations to match the text.

Let readers' minds illustrate the stories, let them paint their own images. Let the script concentrate on the teaching and use of skills needed for the students' level of study.

Using Computers

For students with little English or low reading levels, learning is a daunting task. The concentration span of many students is very short, and they find it difficult to translate work on the board to work in their books.

Most students enjoy video games. This interest can be harnessed for word processing on a computer. Students first write in their own language until they are comfortable with the machine and then, with the help of a more fluent buddy, move on to writing in English.

Stories grew from two or three sentences to almost a full screen. What appealed was that the writing always looked neat, and mistakes could be corrected without anyone knowing except the teacher. Reading off the screen for final checking enabled the teacher to hear each student read aloud without embarrassment.

We have found specially devised programmes, such as "Grammar Gremlins", with its graded levels and pre-tests, valuable. When a satisfactory level is reached the student is rewarded with a game, which actually repeats the exercises, but in a noisy, visual way. Another new programme we are working through is "Word Attack", which has more variations and a real video game. The concentration span of the students now stretches for an entire period and beyond.

The computer enables the teacher to give each student individual attention and feedback. The absorption of information can be easily monitored on and off the machine. A check in the classroom using pen and paper confirms whether the lesson has stuck.

One of the most important factors in using the programmes is the positive feedback they provide. The computer praises each correct answer with a, "Well done!" or a tune. Mistakes are greeted with, "Not quite. Try again". Final scores earn a, "Fantastic score!" and a printed certificate of achievement. Positive verbal feedback from the teacher is also important.

The end of the class period is taken up with a five-minute game session. These are games based on basic reading skills, and are used for consolidating skills in mixed-ability groups. Ending a session this way allows students to leave on a positive note, knowing they have achieved something, even if it took a little help from their friends.

Also available for students are books to read when and if they finish their work. As the students developed confidence in reading they began also to show an interest in reading. One way to cope was to create Sustained Silent Reading (SSR) boxes. SSR books have no activities, and are at a recreational level of reading which is below students' instructional level. These have proved very popular.

Parents' Views

Parents have been fascinated by the change in students' attitudes, and two groups have asked for special help. The students in my class are mainly Samoan, and now the Tongan and Cook Islands parents want classes in English, to start as soon as possible. They want the same sense of achievement for themselves and their children. At last, the "Granny Factor" has been put to rest.

Bev Stone is a reading teacher at Hillary College. Copies of the Life Savers books can be purchased from her at 17 MaryBeth Place, Papakura.

How Real is Our Understanding of ESOL Learners' Needs in the Workplace?

by Trinh Thi Sao

A variety of programmes has been developed over the years aimed at teaching English or literacy to workers in industries. Such programmes may be ineffective if the needs of the workplace have not been clearly analysed, or if management techniques and communication also need attention.

More than ever before, it is vitally important for industries, institutions, and businesses to consider maximising their use of the human resources already existing in their workplace. It is equally important for people who are teachers and trainers in the field of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) to look closely at how they, as agents of change, can bridge the language and cultural gaps for their learners as quickly as possible.

Whether we are teachers of migrant and refugee children or trainers of adult learners, we may be the only bridge there is for these people. To be effective, ESOL tutors/lecturers must equip learners with strategies that will help them to succeed in the New Zealand workplace.

It is therefore important that we are knowledgeable about the difficulties that speakers of languages other than English face in New Zealand workplaces, so that training can be provided to equip them and their employers with effective strategies which can utilise their potential to the full and maximise their company's production.

Consider the following two real-life case studies (names and the workplaces are fictitious, to protect the individuals' identities).

Case Study One

Abdullah, an experienced charge nurse from the Middle East, has been in New Zealand a year. He can speak several languages fluently. He used to serve as an interpreter in a refugee camp in Greece.

He has been working in a New Zealand hospital kitchen for four months. He is grateful to have a job. However, there are difficulties. He finds that he has limited contact with the other staff. They blame his lack of English. They constantly tell him that they cannot understand him, that his English is limited, and that his accent makes understanding him difficult. The proof of this is that he often fails to make lunch orders correctly.

Now he too blames his accent and his English for his problems at work.

Case Study Two

H has been in New Zealand eight years. She has a university degree and is a fluent speaker of English. She was employed as an administration officer. She was a conscientious worker but she found that the more she worked, the more work she had to do. She discovered that while she had to pay for the university courses she attended, her colleagues' fees were paid for them.

After eighteen months at this workplace an opportunity to move up the ladder arose. The position seemed a natural progression for her but the manager appointed a colleague who had less experience than her. She decided to tell the manager of her intention to quit the job. She told the manager that she did not want to stay at the job all her life, and did not think that there would be a future for her in that place. There was no reaction from the manager to her proposal.

A few weeks later she left the job.

There are two different reactions to the first case study. Learners who are new to New Zealand and have not had any experience of this form of covert racism, or are still in the "grateful-to-the-giver" state of emotion, will insist that the problem lies with Abdullah. They will strongly identify with the employer in blaming Abdullah's English. They will also insist that if only they had perfect English then they would be successful in the New Zealand workplace. No one denies that fluency and accuracy in English are very important in some jobs but this standard of perfect English does not apply blindly across all types of jobs. In this case, the level of English needed to do the job well is obviously below Abdullah's ability and capability.

In the second case study, covert racism seems to exist. Covert racism is very difficult to deal with because the person who is racist might not be aware that he or she is racist. It is even more difficult when the person who has a racist attitude refuses to acknowledge it. It is necessary to devise an effective way to help such people change their racist attitude. The intangible attitude is almost impossible to measure. It may be more realistic to effect changes in the organisational practices, such as instituting selection and promotion procedures which focus on a person's skills and abilities. But it is difficult to separate the influence of our attitude and assumptions on our behaviour. Therefore, it is important that cross-cultural training to raise cultural awareness and acceptance must go hand in hand with assisting organisations to utilise fairer approaches for all employees.

In fact, what is needed in both case studies are

cross-cultural communication skills. If the people in these case studies, the employees as well as the employers, were aware of culture and its effect on their behaviour and on their interpretation of the other's behaviour they might have solved the problems more creatively. Interpersonal skills and other communication skills which ESOL teachers are very good at would not only enhance the ability to communicate effectively with people from other cultures and backgrounds, but would also improve communication for all people in the workplace. These are skills such as clarifying, listening reflectively, creating good rapport, speaking clearly, using simple words, avoiding jargon, and respecting cultural and individual differences.

Companies which provide a culturally sensitive environment for their workers are more likely to enjoy high productivity from a happy work force because workers' creativity is not constrained by a monocultural strait-jacket approach. The monocultural approach risks stifling flexibility and adaptability, which are often the characteristics of people who have to learn to live using a new language in a new culture.

The two case studies illustrate some of the difficulties which new migrants face. There are a number of barriers to success in the workplace. Migrants may be unfamiliar with the workplace culture, or with the specific language required for specific tasks. They may not receive appropriate support or training from the management, and the language of instructions may be confusing. Staff may not know where to go for help or what their rights are. Often, new migrants are given inappropriate tasks, such as interpreting, for which they are normally not trained, or compensated. Overseas qualifications may not be recognised. Management may not be aware of staff members' skills and qualifications, nor of their culture and background. The process of performance appraisal may not be clearly communicated, and staff may not have an input into decision making and planning. Selection procedures may be discriminatory. Both direct and indirect racism exist, but are often not identified, acknowledged, or dealt with.

Studying the two case studies and these barriers leads me to the conclusion that the most effective assistance ESOL teachers can give must consist of two training programmes.

One programme aims at equipping new migrants with an awareness of their own culture and their own abilities and skills. A knowledge of the majority culture, and how they should function in it, is also very important for them to succeed. Cross-cultural communication skills, and a knowledge of organisational cultures and their place in them, are very important too.

When operating in a new culture and a new language, new migrants often, rightly or wrongly, feel inadequate. Their personality is often buried because of this feeling of inadequacy. The ESOL professionals can help to remove this obstacle by using teaching content and approaches that raise the learners' cultural awareness and self-appreciation, so that the migrant's personality can shine through. Knowledge of one's own culture and the majority culture can help increase self-esteem. The discovery of one's latent skills can help increase self-confidence.

When comparing and contrasting different cultures we must understand the underlying values and environmental influences that lead to their differences and similarities. Without this understanding, separatism and/or condescending attitudes between ethnic groups may arise. It is also important to see that cultural differences are as valid and real as individual differences between people of the same ethnic or cultural group. If utilised positively, these differences can be sources of great innovation. Lack of cultural awareness can lead to misunderstanding of these differences and to mistrust in each other. The obvious consequence of this is a dysfunctional organisation and an unhappy workforce.

The second programme is for the employers. It should assist them in creating a working environment in which their employees' cultural and individual differences are respected and utilised, with the aim of increasing the company's productivity and the employees' sense of belonging and self-fulfillment. The programme should provide the employers with strategies to enable their employees to contribute their skills and abilities to the full. Cross-cultural awareness, cross-cultural communication, people-management skills, and setting unbiased workplace practices and procedures as mentioned above should be essential components of this training programme. It seems like a daunting task, but with enough awareness raising, and with increasing publicity about organisations that are benefiting from a more creative approach to their diverse workforce, the number of people who can build bridges across cultures will undoubtedly increase.

It is the author's view that the potential and abilities of ESOL learners can only be fully realised if those who belong to the majority culture are prepared to meet them half way. The proposed two programme approaches mentioned will provide the ESOL learners with opportunities to learn English as well as the new culture and, more importantly, will enable them to realise their individuality and full potential in New Zealand. At the same time, employers with enhanced cross-cultural skills will manage their workforce more effectively.

The role of the ESOL teacher, therefore, is very important in helping to bridge this gap.

Trinh Thi Sao is a lecturer in the School of Languages at Wellington Polytechnic. In 1991 she was seconded to the Health Services Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, where the following resources have been developed:

Hobbs, Margaret et al. *Managing with Distinction*. Health Services Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, Department of Health, 1991.

Trinh, Thi Sao. *Effective Multicultural Teamwork*. Health Services Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, Department of Health, 1991.

Trinh, Thi Sao. *Skill and Career Development for Minority Ethnic People*. Health Services Equal Employment Opportunity Unit, Department of Health, 1991.

The Peer-tutor Support Programme in Health Sciences at Otago Polytechnic

by Janet Black

Peer-tutor programmes have been used successfully in a number of primary and secondary schools. This article describes a successful programme at tertiary level which was extended from ESOL students to all students.

How does a Japanese student nurse find out which syllable to stress in the generic drug name "Medroxyprogesterone"?

How does a Cambodian student on the Preparation for Health Science course get help with an assignment on "...the apparent loss of mass at each successive step in the pyramid of biomass"?

The answer at Otago Polytechnic is, "From a peer tutor," — a capable third-year nursing student who is trained and paid by the Nursing and Midwifery Department to work with students needing support.

The support programme for students from ethnic minorities in full-time health science courses was established in 1991, using funding from the Contestable Equity Fund. The programme aimed to offer these students English-language support, a study-skills programme, and a peer tutor to work with them once or twice a week. It was hoped that this support programme would improve retention and pass rates for Health Science students.

I was seconded from the English for Speakers of Other Languages Unit to a 0.7 [three-and-a-half days] position to develop and co-ordinate these programmes. This changed to a 0.5 [two-and-a-half days] position once the programme was running smoothly.

In April 1991 all students in Health Sciences who had indicated on their enrolment forms that their nationality was other than New Zealand European (twenty) were contacted and made aware of the support programme. Eight students responded and indicated they would like to attend regular one-to-one tutor sessions plus a weekly study-skills group meeting. Nationalities included Maori, Cambodian, Chinese, Japanese, Samoan, and Tongan.

Most students wanted help with their assignments — understanding the topics, keeping to the required questions, understanding research articles, English grammar, and technical scientific terms. The Japanese student wanted very specific pronunciation practice with the multisyllabic names of nursing diagnoses and drugs.

The one Maori student on the Preparation for Health Science course, who responded immediately and came regularly for help, also acted as an unofficial agent for the programme by going back to class and singing its praises. He then cajoled two other students into joining, physically bringing them to my door and nudging them through it!

In the second term, when nine students were attending regularly, we decided to begin the peer-tutor programme. All third-year nursing students received a letter asking them to consider becoming a peer tutor. It was explained that they would receive training, and would be paid at the rate of $12.00 per hour of tutoring with a maximum of two hours per week.

I liaised closely with both the first- and third-year course supervisors in order to select nine suitable tutors. Criteria for selection included the following:

- good communication skills;
- a sensitive attitude towards people from other cultures;
- a willingness to help and support other Health Science students from ethnic-minority groups;
- a perceived ability to offer help and guidance without "taking over".

Two training sessions for peer tutors were held. Topics included:

- cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity;
- identifying students' needs;
- the two-way gain of peer tutoring;
- a sample tutoring session demonstrating the need to promote independence, rather than dependence on the tutor.

Peer tutors then met the support-programme students in an introductory session. Some pairs formed naturally during social conversation at this session. Others were matched after discussions with the third-year nursing course

supervisor.

Tutors and students were made aware of their responsibilities for attendance and punctuality, and were asked to let each other know as soon as possible if they were unable to attend a session for any reason. Students were asked to think carefully before each session and sort out the most useful way of spending the time. Many chose to go over old exam papers with their tutors. Some wanted help with their assignments.

Tutor pairs then met once or twice a week in rooms made available for them. Notebooks were used to record brief details of topics covered in each session. These were signed by both parties, and used by tutors to validate payments once a fortnight.

As co-ordinator, I monitored the programme by regular telephone contact with the tutors, and at weekly study-skills group meetings with the students. This enabled problems to be noted and solved quickly.

Outcomes

One student on the Preparation for Health Science course dropped out before exams. The other two (Cambodian and Maori) sat their exams in October. The Cambodian student failed, but the Maori student passed and was later accepted for Occupational Therapy at Otago Polytechnic and for Human Nutrition at Otago University. He chose the latter.

By November, there were six tutor pairs still working together regularly. Of these six, five passed their first-year nursing exams, some with quite high marks. Congratulatory letters were sent out to these students.

An end-of-year lunch was held for everyone who had participated in the programme, and peer tutors received certificates of recognition for their work. Feedback from students and tutors alike was totally positive.

First-year students said that the opportunity to ask a third-year student questions about things they didn't understand had been very helpful, and that writing model answers to old exam questions with their peer tutor to guide and advise them had been wonderful. They also mentioned the value of the study-skills group and the feeling of support they had gained from being part of a group of people with similar difficulties.

Peer tutors expressed surprise at how much tutoring in biology or anatomy and physiology had helped them revise those subjects themselves for their State finals. They enjoyed the opportunity to get to know and interact with a student from a culture different from their own.

All students reported having enjoyed participating in such a worthwhile programme, and first-year students asked if it would be available for them in their second year.

During 1991, as news of the programme spread, several Pakeha students had expressed interest in joining, and a number of these would clearly have benefited from it. However, the funding for the programme had been applied for and granted on the basis that it was for ethnic-minority students, so we were unable to include these keen participants in 1991. In 1992, however, Alison Dixon, the Head of Nursing and Midwifery at Otago Polytechnic who had applied for the initial funding, decided to expand the programme to include all students who clearly needed support, and to fund it from within her department.

In 1992, ten tutor pairs worked successfully throughout the year, and all ten students passed their exams. Some of these students self-referred, and others were referred by course tutors. Several other students who were advised to join the programme but didn't failed their end-of-year exams.

So, a peer-tutor programme has become part of the support network for nursing students at Otago Polytechnic. At the end of 1992, the Japanese-trained nurse received her New Zealand registration. At the end of this year, the male Cambodian refugee who worked as a nurse in Cambodia and Thailand will graduate with a New Zealand diploma. A young Filipino girl who has been studying science technology and has been coming for help with her English writing style, has just heard that she has been accepted into the nursing degree programme. She is relieved to know that a study-skills and peer-tutor programme is available to her as she begins her three-year course.

As I finish writing this article in 1993, a letter is going out to all third-year nursing students headed:

"Are you interested in becoming a peer tutor?...."

Janet Black is an ESOL Lecturer at Otago Polytechnic.

Clothing and Design Foundation Course for ESOL Students at Otago Polytechnic

by Yek Hong Lok and Marion Rae

This article describes a successful course where the students learned practical skills while learning English. English lessons closely related to course content and employment skills.

In 1991 and 1992 the English for Speakers of other Languages (ESOL) Unit at Otago Polytechnic ran a foundation course in Fashion and Design for ESOL students. This course was designed to give students basic skills in sewing, design, and pattern draughting, and to help them to use both industrial and domestic sewing machines. Apparel and Textile Training Board (ATTB) skills were taught as well as English. The course was a full-year course of thirty-three weeks, with twenty hours tuition per week. All the students participating in the 1991 course were Cambodian, and in 1992 a Cook Islands student joined alongside the Cambodian students.

Only two or three of the students had used a sewing machine before they began the course. They all felt very nervous at the beginning. They preferred to use the domestic machines because these allowed them to sew slowly. However, by the second term confidence had grown and they were feeling comfortable using the much faster industrial machines. By the third term most of them had bought their own industrial machines to use, so that they could sew clothes for friends, family, and private clients, as well as for factory piecework.

The class received five hours of English tuition weekly, in addition to the sewing instruction. Most students were working at a lower intermediate level.

The aim for the class was that students would learn to follow instructions, both verbal and written, as needed for the course. They would also learn sufficient English to ensure that they could gain employment in the clothing industry.

As well as acquiring confidence in using spoken English in everyday situations, students developed their reading and writing skills for the employment scene. They were equipped with the necessary language skills to obtain employment, including job seeking, job interviews and presenting a curriculum vitae.

In the first term, students were taught the basic vocabulary for the sewing machines, for garment components, and for the sewing equipment used. They also learned to follow commercial pattern instructions.

The vocabulary for pattern draughting was introduced in the second term. Workplace vocabulary was also introduced, with work experience, as well as the vocabulary for personal grooming and colour co-ordination.

The third term was devoted almost entirely to developing the language skills needed for employment. By the end of the year, most students were speaking, reading, and writing with confidence, and looking for work.

We noted a huge difference in the students' levels of confidence from the beginning to the end of the year. One man appeared to be lazy, untidy, and poorly groomed at the beginning of the year. He didn't even wash his face in the mornings! By the end of the year, he was dressing smartly, looking well groomed, walking proudly and confidently, and also had gained employment. It's exciting to see people feeling good about themselves and making so much progress in one year. Three students were able to obtain employment by the end of the year.

The students learned many aspects of personal grooming, that is, making themselves look good. It was exciting to watch them as they learned to present themselves. They learned how to dress and wear the right clothes for the right occasion. We found it satisfying to see how they presented themselves after they had been taught these various aspects of grooming — to see them looking good was indeed a pleasure.

Three weeks before the end of the course, the students worked extremely hard, and designed, drafted, and made their own garments — shirts, skirts, pleated trousers, and jackets. These garments were then modelled at a fashion parade, for which the students had also practised modelling skills.

Families, sponsors, home tutors, industrial managers, and Polytech tutors were invited to the parade. The students had prepared Cambodian and Cook Islands food for the guests to share. The garments had been judged and were proudly modelled by the students. Awards were presented to the Best Student and to the Most Improved Student. The students also received a certificate at the Polytechnic Graduation Ceremony the following day. These two years have certainly proved to be high-achieving years for a group of special people.

Yek Hong Lok is a lecturer in the Fashion and Design Unit at Otago Polytechnic. Marion Rae was the tutor for the English component of the course.

Refugee Students With No Previous Schooling

by Nola Cochrane, Anne Lee, and Pamela Lees

This article deals with a trend which has become apparent in the last two years and which is likely to increase in the future. Feedback from schools has indicated that there is concern at the numbers of students arriving with no English language and minimal learning skills.

For the purposes of this paper we used the following definition of no previous schooling: "students who have not had any traditional schooling in their own country and only minimal instruction in refugee camps". The reasons for this become apparent when we examine the current situation in those camps from which refugees have arrived in New Zealand.

The largest numbers of Cambodian, Lao, and some Vietnamese refugees come from camps in Thailand. Cambodian families, in many cases, have now spent up to twelve years in camps. Even secondary school students up to seventeen years of age have no memories of any other way of life. The standard of teaching of Khmer and other school subjects has gone down markedly as the teachers are accepted for re-settlement, whereas, in the early to mid-1980s, trained teachers were running the camp schools and the education of children who came here was, in their own language, of a good standard.

Families who are coming now, who have been long stayers in the camps, are often those considered to have the least skills for re-settlement. Frequently, they are rural farming people who have had only one or two years primary education themselves, and who have been unable to support their children's education. In the camps in Thailand the learning of English was discouraged by the authorities, who wanted Cambodians to return home. The learning of English was seen as an encouragement for re-settlement overseas and, hence, a longer stay in the camp while awaiting this option. English classes were private and required payment. Those who did not have families overseas did not have the financial means to pay for private classes. In addition girls, like their mothers, frequently missed out on classes, because survival needs for the family took precedence.

In the past few years there have been groups of refugees arriving with backgrounds that are different from previous groups. These have included the following groups.

Assyrian Christians from Iraq

These students are not literate in their own language as it is illegal for schools to teach any language other than Arabic. Since leaving Iraq, these families have been trapped for up to six years in camps in Iran with no schooling provision. This means that even older children have had only a couple of years of primary schooling. Some private classes were run by the parents, but with only one or two books — in the Assyrian language they had only one bible — and no materials.

Vietnamese from Korea

These people left Viet Nam in the early 1980s and were imprisoned in China for the crime of fleeing communism. Eventually they escaped and went to South Korea, where they have been in a camp in Pusan which has no schooling provision. Once again, parents took the initiative in providing education for their children — also in the absence of books and materials. Considering these circumstances the Vietnamese- and English-language levels among the children in this group were quite remarkable. But, again, it is important to remember that they have no experience of school.

San Salvadorans from Mexico

These children had been exiled with their parents in the mountains of San Salvador prior to leaving their country. While in Mexico awaiting resettlement, they had the chance of a year or so at school.

In all of the above groups, the children had difficulty in adjusting to classroom organisation and appropriate behaviour. On arrival, they had no concept of working in groups and had no independent learning skills. For example, they lacked concentration and application to the task, and didn't realise that learning is an active, two-way participation by both teacher and student. They had no concept of different subject areas.

Despite the gap between their skill level and what is required at school, such children can sometimes have a high degree of oral competency in several languages. If this competency is in English it can appear, at first, that they will cope with the demands of a classroom. This results in what we see as surface-level competence, where children appear able to cope but in fact are not. As well as this, refugee children have learned survival skills which are often inappropriate skills in resettlement. Their past experiences are completely apart from the world of the country of resettlement. The ordinary things that go on in a New Zealand school are incomprehensible to them.

These students can frequently be disoriented about time. They have no experience in living according to a time-driven schedule. They can't plan ahead, even for one day — to survive in a

refugee camp you can't afford to think ahead. They are not used to making choices — they have had no options.

The students can't learn independently because they don't know what is expected of them. What learning they have done has been by rote. Skills learned in the past have been those of naming objects and of repeating phrases.

There can be a lack of concentration. Often they are keen to apply themselves but have no habit of concentration. Malnutrition can be a contributing factor to this, together with their lack of experience in sustained activity. With limited access to books, even in their own language they have difficulty in accessing print.

New students in school are unable to analyse their own problems, and teachers are often unable to help unless they are aware of the background of the student. It is important to realise that amongst refugee students entering New Zealand schools there is a greater diversity of background and expectations than amongst New Zealand-born children and migrants.

It is crucial to an understanding of the needs of refugee students to realise the difference between the migrant child and the refugee child. A fundamental difference is that refugees do not leave their homeland because they want to; they leave because they are forced to leave; they have no choice. The reasons for leaving mean a background of trauma, violence, persecution, or torture. Refugees come to New Zealand from camps, whereas migrants come from fully functioning, intact lives which have included continuous education. Migrants arrive with money and possessions to start their new life, and often with support from family back home. Refugees arrive with nothing except problems from the past.

Teachers who have refugee students arriving in their classes are not provided with appropriate or specific resources. Ideally, students need a bilingual programme to ease the adjustment and the process of re-settlement. That this is not available is a disservice to both student and teacher.

This paper was presented as a workshop at the Third National Conference on Community Languages and ESOL. It was notable that the workshop participants, as well as including New Zealand teachers, also included a large proportion of ethnic-minority community members, amongst whom were ex-refugee parents. This group expressed particular concern over the progress of their children in both primary and secondary schools. The following are some of the points raised by this group.

- Parents were unable to participate in their children's education. They do not understand the system of schooling in New Zealand, and schools do not have access to interpreters. One parent raised the point that he, as a Vietnamese, had been called in to assist with problems that had developed only because there had not been access to a mother-tongue adviser.
- In subject areas, such as maths, there is no provision in exams for the use of dictionaries, or for extra time for reading questions. Teachers in the workshop supported the provision of these, giving the example of those children who are able to use "reader/writers" during the School Certificate examinations.
- There was a strong call from the group as a whole for bilingual advisers to be made available to schools, parents, and students.

Nola Cochrane, Anne Lee, and Pamela Lees are the Primary and Secondary lecturers in the Refugee Education Programme, Auckland Institute of Technology.

A bibliography on refugee youth is available from the authors or from the editor of *Many Voices*. Some of the books listed in the bibliography cover topics on the background and re-settlement of specific refugee student groups, and others look at programmes and practice in school classrooms.

Cross Cultural Interaction — A Shock Facing Indo-Chinese Immigrants

By Tôn Nu˜ My˜ Nhât

A Teacher Speaks From Viet Nam

During the past ten or fifteen years, much has been said about Indo-Chinese immigrants in general, and the Vietnamese boat-people in particular. Thanks to the Voice of America and the BBC, we can keep abreast of matters concerning pirates, or unfavourable conditions or disorder in the camps. Letters sent home are filled with loneliness, homesickness, and hopelessness.

In recent times, we have also heard about repatriation. During the first week of January 1993, for example, sixty or more people were sent back to Viet Nam. How did these people feel when they boarded the airplane? I wonder. Did they think that they were going to face poverty, or a lack of freedom and democracy? But did they have any knowledge that their return actually ended a shock that they might have endured — culture-shock — had they come face to face with a new language and culture in a Western country?

Most of these people did know the situation regarding pirates, and harsh days in the camps, but that knowledge did not discourage them from leaving, because they thought that once past them, these problems would all be over. Few of

them knew that another threat was waiting for them once they were allowed to resettle in a new country. Unlike others, this threat is not momentary, but is permanent. Day in, day out, they have to use a new language to deal with a new people, which may result in a state which J. M. Valdes describes: "When a person who has been nurtured by one culture is placed in juxtaposition with another, his reaction may be anger, frustration, fright, curiosity, entrancement, repulsion, confusion. If the encounter is occasioned by the study of another language, the reaction may be all the stronger because he is faced with the two unknowns simultaneously."

To the Vietnamese refugees, the problem must be even worse. After years in closed camps, they have to come into interaction with people in a predominantly western country that is totally different from the one they left behind. Helping these people to use the English language to survive in this culture is difficult, especially those whose literacy is questionable. It is likely that some people, who come from coastal villages, have never finished primary school. As for others, their education might have been disrupted or severed by war.

Obviously, teaching the English language to these people can not be divorced from teaching the target culture. It is impossible for teachers to prevent the shock altogether, but it is quite possible for them to help the learners be aware of the problem. Hopefully, this would be when the people are still in the camps and can be given confidence. They could anticipate the problems they will face in the reality of their new lives as refugees. Differences should be given extra consideration; similarities should be emphasised. For the teacher, a thorough knowledge of the language and culture of both English and Vietnamese is essential. We cannot hope to compare two grammatical points or cultural features unless we have an understanding of each of the languages and cultures in question.

The Vietnamese immigrants must be prepared and willing to look at the behaviour of people from the new culture and accept them uncritically, if not favourably. I would like to quote Valdes again: "Along with this acceptance of a people comes acceptance of their language and a greater willingness to let go of the binding ties of the native language and culture — a willingness to enter, at least to a degree, into what can be the exciting adventure of another language and culture."

However, it is equally important to believe that learning a foreign language and acquiring the target culture does not mean abandoning our original culture in favour of the values and customs of the host society. Just as the foreigners who come to Viet Nam learn to use chop-sticks, a practice that they leave behind as soon as they depart from Viet Nam, the Vietnamese should be aware that learning the new language and culture is just a means, rather than an end in itself.

To all those who are in charge of educating these poor people, please deal with them with patience, kindness, and above all, compassion. If there is a need for bilingual teachers from Viet Nam, please ask our Government; perhaps they will help. While many native speakers of English from New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, or even from the United States have volunteered to come to Viet Nam to help us to learn the English language and the target cultures, there is no point if our Government is unwilling to give permission for some professional Vietnamese teachers to go abroad to help their own people — those who have suffered a lot, physically and mentally; those who desperately need love, compassion, and understanding.

Reference

Valdes, J.M. *Culture Bound — Bridging the Cultural Gap in Language Teaching*. Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Tôn Nu˜ My˜ Nhât is an English Teacher at Qui Nhon Teachers College in Viet Nam. This article was written during a workshop conducted by Marilyn Lewis of Auckland University, in January 1993.

The Volunteer Service Abroad Projects in Viet Nam and Cambodia

by Chris Hawley

Viet Nam

A team of five New Zealanders has been based in Qui Nhon City, Binh Dinh Province, central Viet Nam, since January 1992. The team comprises a primary health-care nurse and water sanitation engineer, working in a very poor community called Cat Hai Commune, some eighty kilometres north of Qui Nhon on the Vietnamese coast. They are involved in establishing a primary health-care system, developing a clean drinking water and an adequate sanitation system, as well as improving irrigation for increased crop production.

The third member of the team is a hospital maintenance engineer, based in Qui Nhon city, who is training technicians in the maintenance and repair of medical equipment at the provincial hospital. Everything in the hospital has run down from the war, and the effect of the American embargo since then has meant that there has been no updating of equipment for the last eighteen years.

The fourth and fifth members of the team are two English-language specialists: Sheila

O'Toole, who is teaching English to gifted high school students at a specialist high school in Qui Nhon City, and Fiona McCook, who teaches trainees at Binh Dinh Teachers' Training College, which serves six provinces in central Viet Nam with a population of nine million people. The two English teachers are the first native-English speakers in this area since the war finished in 1975. There are huge demands on their time, and they are treated with tremendous courtesy and respect. The Vietnamese are very, very keen to learn English, as they see this as a vehicle for communication with the outside world after years of isolation, and also as a career-enhancement opportunity.

The resources in Vietnamese education are extremely limited and poor, and Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) has already sent by container a number of educational resources to assist the New Zealand volunteers to get on with their jobs. This is, of course, by no means adequate, and further supplies are always welcome.

The New Zealand team will be in place in Qui Nhon until December 1993. In the second half of 1993 VSA will be reviewing the programme in Viet Nam. It is hoped that a second team will replace the first team at the beginning of 1994, provided ongoing support is obtained from the New Zealand Government, the Vietnamese Government, and the New Zealand coalition of development agencies working in co-operation with VSA.

Should any schools or teachers be particularly interested in establishing some special link or co-operation between the work of Sheila O'Toole at school level, or Fiona McCook at adult/teachers' college level, please write to Volunteer Service Abroad, and address the letter to the Volunteer Service Abroad/Asia Programme Manager. VSA would be pleased to assist in increasing the support and links between New Zealand teachers in education and institutions in Binh Dinh Province.

The New Zealand volunteers in Qui Nhon are pioneers, establishing new relationships with a country with which we have had little to do since 1975. They have been living in demanding and difficult circumstances, and have been excellent ambassadors for New Zealand, creating good will between Vietnamese and New Zealanders. They need encouragement and support, both professionally and personally, from people back home, and we would encourage New Zealanders to assist in whatever way they think appropriate.

Cambodia

In Cambodia, we have a team of three people: a primary health-care nurse, an agriculturalist, and a teacher trainer, living in Tram Kak District of Takeo Province, southern Cambodia. VSA also has a representative based in the capital, Phnom Penh, who has been responsible for managing and supporting the work of the team and, most importantly, monitoring the volatile and constantly changing situation in Cambodia. Our team of three has been focusing its energy since June 1992 in Kus Commune, which is a community of some 20,000 people three hours drive south of Phnom Penh. Most of the people are still recovering from the after-effects of the Pol Pot years, and are now increasingly depressed and concerned about the future because of the deterioration of the situation in Cambodia.

Gail Trevarthan, the teacher trainer, was formerly principal of a school in Blenheim, and has previously worked through VSA as a teacher trainer in Bhutan. Gail's responsibility is to work with Cambodian village- and district-level teachers in developing teacher aids (which currently are non-existent), and to assist in methodology and curriculum development. The exciting dimension to the educational role is that it is integrated with the work of the primary health-care nurse and agriculturalist. We are working with the Department of Education in Tram Kak District to develop a primary- and intermediate-level education system which serves practical needs of village-dwelling rural Cambodians. This means, for example, that we are currently working with the Cambodians to develop a demonstration farm in each of the schools in Kus Commune. Also, health education is being integrated into the school curriculum, in co-operation with the VSA primary health-care nurse and her Cambodian health workers.

There are also linkages and contacts with UNICEF in Phnom Penh, and the Department of Education in Phnom Penh. We hope in this way that our work, although being of immediate benefit to Kus Commune people, will have a wider impact in the long term.

In the Pol Pot years, all schools were destroyed in Cambodia. Kus Commune was no exception. Again, this place is very, very short of resources, and VSA has supplied one container of goods so far, which does not go very far in such a large community. Again, Gail Trevarthan values and appreciates professional and personal support from New Zealand teachers, to help her and her colleagues in their challenging work.

The situation is often distressing for the New Zealand volunteers, as many of the people they work with are often ill; many of the women are widows struggling with young children, and children themselves often do not eat enough food to attend school for any length of time, and cannot afford to buy pencils and paper.

As in the case of Viet Nam, Volunteer Service

Abroad is always interested in facilitating linkages and support between New Zealand educators and our workers in Cambodia. People interested in doing this should address correspondence to the Volunteer Service Abroad/Asia Programme Manager, Volunteer Service Abroad, Box 12-246, Wellington.

Chris Hawley is Director (Development) with Volunteer Service Abroad. He has worked and travelled extensively in Asia.

Language Attitudes and Language Maintenance in the Wellington Indo-Fijian Community

by Nikhat Shameem

The Indo-Fijian community in Wellington is a new immigrant community, with the majority of the members settling in Wellington since the 1987 Fijian military coups. This paper deals with their attitudes towards Fiji Hindi, their first language. Other studies have shown that the attitude of an immigrant group towards its first language has important implications for the continued maintenance of this language in the new environment.

In this survey, 106 Indo-Fijians were interviewed — fifty-three teenagers and their mothers. I was particularly interested in teenagers because, despite the pressures of the wider environment, these respondents — by virtue of the fact that they were still living at home — were subject to the influences of the home language environment. Therefore, bilingualism could be expected to be the norm, rather than the exception. In addition, younger immigrants tend to feel greater pressure to acquire native-like English skills. Upon immigration, they enter the monolingual English-speaking school system where they come under pressure from their teachers, the education system, peers, and the demands of the wider environment.

Mothers were selected because they have been shown in other studies to be greater supporters of language maintenance, since they tend to spend more time with the children than do their husbands. Mothers, therefore, would also be most likely to know more about their teenagers' language use. Moreover, Richard Benton, for example, says that the language Maori mothers use to speak to their children has been significant in determining shift in language use.

In this survey, it was found that the mothers feel mastery of English to be the key to economic and social success for their children in New Zealand. That this may be at the expense of mother-tongue skills had not been seriously considered — mother-tongue competence was so often taken for granted. Although the advantages of bilingualism have been well documented and bilingual school programmes applauded, many immigrant parents continue to be largely unaware of the benefits of bilingualism. This is so in the Wellington Indo-Fijian community.

In order to gauge whether this bilingual community would continue enjoying its bilingualism in the future, this survey tried to isolate and identify these immigrants' attitudes not only to English, which had obvious support, but also to their mother tongue.

Background

Fiji Hindi, which evolved during language contact on plantations in Fiji almost a century ago, developed in order to fulfil communication needs among Indian indentured labourers, who spoke vastly different languages and dialects. Subsequently, the second generation of Indians in Fiji spoke only Fiji Hindi as their first language. It is also now spoken uniformly in Fiji as their first language by the Indo-Fijian population. Because its main function has been to fulfil communication needs, Fiji Hindi has remained a pre-literate language, a language which has never been used in writing.

It is perhaps because of the combination of the attitudes of the colonial administration, the various education commissions, the ex-Alliance government, the media, writers on the Fiji language situation, and Hindi curriculum advisers in Fiji, that Fiji Hindi has never been accorded any status within or outside of the Indo-Fijian community. Indo-Fijians will often comment on the "broken" nature of Fiji Hindi, considering it to be a degenerate form of standard Hindustani — a language which they understand but which few speak. Fiji Hindi is also heavily interspersed with English words and phrases.

Immigration to New Zealand

In 1970, Fiji attained political independence and gained dominion status. Political power was in the hands of the ruling neo-colonial, predominantly Fijian, Alliance party until the 1987 election victory of a multi-racial Fiji Labour and National Federation coalition. The first of two military coups followed within a fortnight. The implications for Indo-Fijians were considerable. The 1987 coups eliminated any hopes the Indo-Fijians had of equitable status with Fijians as a result of the coalition election victory. It suited the instigators of the politically motivated coups to portray the issue

as one of indigenous rights — hoping to summon international support and sympathy. This portrayal was to have consequences in terms of host-community attitudes towards the Indo-Fijians, and vice versa, in New Zealand.

Never politically secure, and unable under the constitution to own more than a fraction of Fiji's land area, Indo-Fijians now worried about the worsening political and economic situation. Wishing to provide a secure educational, economic, and social future for themselves and their families, many left for self-imposed exile overseas. Large numbers came to New Zealand — approximately 12,200 people during the years 1985 to 1992, according to unpublished immigration permit information statistics held by the New Zealand Department of Labour's Immigration Service.

The Survey

Because statistical data on precise numbers of Indo-Fijians living in Wellington was unavailable, respondents were selected from exhaustive community lists obtained from key figures in this community. A representative proportion of the numbers in each major category of religious affiliation, gender, and age (older and younger teenagers) was used. Only New Zealand permanent residents were included.

The Wellington Indo-Fijians

Several respondents in the survey felt that Indo-Fijians are discernible from locally born Indians and Indian immigrants, not only by their language, but also by their general demeanour, their dress, and their participation in Indo-Fijian community activities.

Several Indo-Fijian cultural and social organisations and clubs operate in Wellington. Significantly, the members of the Wellington community have divided themselves into the traditional religious groups to which they had allegiance in Fiji. This is evidenced by the number of Hindus attending various Ramayan Mandlis around Wellington (Taranaki Street, Kilbirnie, Wainuiomata, and Porirua), and the number of Muslims attending the Newtown Islamic Centre.

Soccer, a popular game with Indo-Fijians in Fiji, is gaining popularity and support with the community in Wellington. Tournaments are held frequently, particularly during long weekends. A bi-monthly newspaper, the *New Zealand Indian Times*, and the weekly "Indian Voice of Fiji" Access Radio broadcasts also provide, for older members particularly, links with each other and with news from Fiji. A common social pastime, grog drinking, is as popular among older men in Wellington as it is in Fiji, and several "grog chambers" operate around Wellington. Hindi video shops, operated by Indo-Fijians, are doing well, and occasional cinema screenings of Hindi movies are well attended by Indo-Fijians.

It is apparent, therefore, that Indo-Fijians have become well established in Wellington. Although they share their religious affiliations with other immigrants of Indian origin, their primary loyalty seems to lie with Indo-Fijian immigrants who share their customs and more recent history. A contributing factor to this preference for Indo-Fijian institutions could be the opportunity it presents for using Fiji Hindi.

Attitude Measurement: Method

Attitudes to Fiji Hindi were probed using a system adapted from the Likert scale, which uses numbers on a scale to denote degrees of agreement with a statement that expresses a negative, positive, or neutral attitude towards a language.

I asked mothers and teenagers for their opinions regarding language use in the Indo-Fijian community, and I also asked the mothers to comment on their children's future language use.

Attitudes to Fiji Hindi

Attitudes towards Fiji Hindi among both groups of respondents were positive, with a majority (over 90 percent) of teenagers and mothers saying they wanted to keep their knowledge of Fiji Hindi, and over 80 percent of both groups saying they wanted to keep in touch with other Indo-Fijians in Wellington. Judging by responses to other statements, members of the Indo-Fijian community continued to enjoy speaking Fiji Hindi to each other, and both groups of respondents (although mothers more so than teenagers) generally seemed to feel that every Indo-Fijian should know Fiji Hindi.

Fiji Hindi Maintenance

When I asked respondents about language use in the home, however, opinions varied and although a majority felt that Indo-Fijians should speak Fiji Hindi at home regularly, others felt it was either the individual's choice or the family's decision. Some mothers said that the language that is used most in the home was dependent on parents' language use with their children. Other mothers said they had felt it necessary to use English at home in New Zealand to help their children gain confidence and competence in their English skills.

Teenage opinion on the possibility of Fiji Hindi maintenance in the future varied almost evenly over the scale. No real trend was visible in terms of negative or positive attitudes. However, it is apparent that members of this community were aware of the possibility of language shift, since 60 percent of the subjects felt Fiji Hindi maintenance classes for Indo-Fijian children to be

necessary if the language was to be maintained. Many of those who disagreed with the prospect of Fiji Hindi maintenance classes were adamant that Fiji Hindi was a language that had to be learned in the home, and that parents, not the community, were responsible for this teaching. The main concerns about the establishment of Fiji Hindi language-maintenance classes were with who would run them, where they would be held, and how a language which has no literary form could be taught effectively.

Status and Autonomy of Fiji Hindi

Although a majority of the respondents felt that Fiji Hindi was a "broken" language, and most teenage respondents believed it to be a dialect of Hindustani, by the same token they also felt that Fiji Hindi was classifiable as a language in its own right. This reflects language attitudes that have been held by this population in the past and which, I would suggest, are tied up with attitudes towards and the status of Fiji Hindi in Fiji.

On the question of how all Indians in New Zealand see Fiji Hindi, responses indicated a somewhat negative attitude. Over half the teenagers felt that Indians in New Zealand had a low opinion of Fiji Hindi — a clear majority over those who were uncertain or disagreed.

Fiji Hindi Usefulness

Although initially most teenagers confidently said that they could say anything they wanted to say in Fiji Hindi, they agreed that there were certain things which were inexpressible in Fiji Hindi. A possible reason for this discrepancy in the responses was that the first question may have been taken to mean ability in Fiji Hindi, rather than its use for discussing a range of topics, as the second statement more clearly meant.

A majority of respondents agreed that Fiji Hindi would be useful to Indians in New Zealand in the future. However, more teenagers than mothers seemed to feel this way.

Community Attitudes

Teenagers who were asked to comment on their perception of general attitudes of their own and other communities towards Fiji Hindi placed their responses to the question, "What is the reaction of people you know in these groups when they hear you or someone else speak Fiji Hindi?" on a five point scale. The community groups included were Pakeha, Maori, Pacific Islanders, Indians from India, New Zealand Indians, and Indo-Fijians.

The Indo-Fijian community was identified as having the most positive attitudes towards Fiji Hindi. Teenagers were also agreed that other communities in Wellington generally did not mind it. This data seemed incongruous at first glance because earlier comments by the mothers had indicated how powerful other groups' comments and attitudes in New Zealand had been in contributing towards the pressure among teenage and younger children to acquire particularly native-like speaking skills. However, judging by responses to probe questions, together with a further look at the data, it seems that negative attitudes of individuals were rarely generalised to include attitudes of the whole community. Each display of negativity was seen as the act of the individual, who was not necessarily representative of an ethnic group. Usually, only if individuals had suffered from derogatory comments or attitudes over a period of time or from several individuals of an ethnic group were they more comfortable about identifying the group (reluctantly) as having negative attitudes.

Twenty-one (of fifty-three) teenagers perceived New Zealand Indians as having negative attitudes towards Fiji Hindi. Responses to two earlier questions in the questionnaire on local Indians' attitude to Fiji Hindi had also pointed to an awareness of a tension between the two communities. Sixteen teenagers said they had felt a negative attitude towards their language from the Maori community.

The primary reason for these perceived negative attitudes towards Fiji Hindi from the local Indian and Maori communities are, I suspect, political.

As Tiwari states, New Zealand Indians have a certain historical pride in that they left India for New Zealand as free immigrants, unlike Indo-Fijians who left for Fiji under servitude. Moreover, most New Zealand Indians are of Gujarati extraction and speak Gujarati rather than Hindustani as their mother tongue. Indo-Fijians may have passive knowledge of Hindustani, but have little of Gujarati. Therefore, accommodating each other linguistically is made doubly difficult, since few would have the language skills to do this.

A perception of the Maori community's negative attitudes may stem from post-1987 coup events, when Maori activists decided the issue to be one of indigenous rights and subsequently actively supported the Fijian coups, showing little sympathy for the Indo-Fijians.

It is important to note, nevertheless, that Indo-Fijian teenagers generally perceived without-group attitudes as one of tolerance and this in itself is a positive sign.

Conclusions

This survey looks at attitudes towards their mother tongue of the Wellington Indo-Fijian community. Although the pressure for acquisition of native-like English fluency is a powerful force, it appears to have had no immediate detrimental

effect on attitudes to mother-tongue maintenance. A factor that may help to maintain Fiji Hindi is that, despite its perceived usefulness, there was already an awarenëss among the teenagers, at least, that Indo-Fijians may lose their Fiji-Hindi skills in the future. How this shift may be avoided, and where the responsibility lay to ensure continuity of Fiji-Hindi skills was unclear. Several mothers were particularly vocal that it was the parent's responsibility and not the community's.

Wellington has several distinctively Indo-Fijian religious and cultural groups operating, with members meeting weekly. Of recent years, New Zealand's policies encouraging linguistic and cultural diversity may mean Indo-Fijians maintaining an awareness and pride in the uniqueness of their language and culture. This would be a positive step towards Fiji-Hindi maintenance in Wellington.

It is important to remember, however, that the number of Indo-Fijians now migrating to New Zealand is on a decline and, because of the financial pressure, few Indo-Fijians can afford whole families taking trips to Fiji — thereby making the chance for continual renewal of Fiji-Hindi skills more remote. Nevertheless language attitudes showed that despite the low status accorded Fiji Hindi in the past, the respondents in this survey held positive attitudes towards their community and their language. Although Indo-Fijians in New Zealand, like Indo-Fijians in Fiji, continue to be uncertain about the precise nature and status of their language, a majority agreed that Fiji Hindi was in fact a language in its own right.

Nikhat Shameem is a lecturer at the English Language Institute, Victoria University.

Dykes and Warriors

by Maartje Quivooy

It's amazing what I learn from the children since they've attended primary school. Every day, a new word. Three hundred and sixty-five words a year. Not bad. Learning with the words New Zealand history, Maori history, and even some unknown history of my own country.

Four-year-old Nelis comes home from kindy with a word he has learnt from the other children. A mild word, meaning "to breed" in Dutch. Not so here!

"Don't let him say that," grumps my husband, "it's a four-letter word."

"Four-letter word? But there are lots of words with four letters!"

It's complicated. Last week they taught me to play five hundred. I'm told to say "jack", "queen", "king", "ace" (with the emphasis on the "a"), to be pronounced properly. The way I pronounce the very same word in Dutch sounds like a swear word. Another no-no.

"Can I take your clogs to school tomorrow?" asks Tish, the five-year-old, when she comes home. "We're talking about Holland this week."

"Yes? And what did they tell you?"

"About the boy with his finger in the dyke, you know? The one that saved the land from running under water."

Mmm? ... It's a new one to me. Fancy that. Shall I support her teacher, or show her a realistic picture of a dyke?"

"He must have been a brave boy," I say. She nods earnestly. "All the people saved as well," she adds, "from drowning."

"With just one finger eh?" I wonder who wrote that story, never a Dutchman, I'm sure.

She nibbles her biscuit and drinks her milo, then goes outside to play with Nelis.

The next day I ask my friend Maria, who's been here a long time, "What's that tale about the boy with his finger in the dyke?" She laughs.

"I'd never heard of it till I came here. Mind you, in our village we always played on the dyke. There were lots of interesting things we did. We had our goat grazing there."

"Our canal dyke was full of good rabbit food, " I say. My mind flashes back.

Matthias and I are cutting grass by the canal. It has been a hot day at school.

"We can swim later," he says, "before we go home."

"I haven't got my swimsuit, Matt."

"It doesn't matter, we'll go over there. There're hardly any people about. Swim in your knickers."

We hurry to fill our bags with rabbit food: grass and dandelions. Our rabbits love dandelions and clover. We keep rabbits for eating and for swapping for other food-stuffs.

We swim. The water's lovely. A barge comes gliding past us. We can hear the soft plop-plop of the engine.

"Can't stay too long. We must be back before curfew, at 8 o'clock," Matt says.

I pull my frock over my wet underclothes. We pick up our bags and go to the top of the canal dyke. The grass is long here, it hasn't been mown yet. I smell the big daisies and see some poppies and cornflowers.

Half way up, Matt stops suddenly.

"Eh ... what's that?" I hear him say. I climb up to him. Among the long stalks lies a German soldier. He's on his back. His eyes are half open. It's very quiet. I hear birds sing, a cow's low mooing, the wind rustling through the grass; the sun is low in the sky.

"Is he dead?" I ask. Matt nods. He's turned pale.

"Let's get away from here," he says, "don't say anything to anybody."

We run home. It's wartime. We don't ask questions.

How carefree my children grow up in this land.

The clogs are a great success.

"All the teachers wanted to try them," Tish tells me. "They can't walk in them like you do." I grin to myself. They're size nine and a half.

The week after, they have another topic at school.

"Have you got something Maori?" she asks. "Tomorrow we'll talk about 'warriors'."

"Oh? And what are 'warriors'?"

She looks at me with her green, serious eyes. She sighs.

"People that worry, of course!" she says.

Maartje Quivooy came to New Zealand from Holland after World War II. She has told some of her stories on National Radio.

My Birth Mark

by Wally Lomeli Ranfurly

Different cultures view things like birth marks, hair cutting, ear piercing, tattoos, scars, and so on in different ways. There are pitfalls in making judgments about how a child might feel about something like this based on your own cultural assumptions. In the following article the Wellington Niuean writer, Wally Lomeli Ranfurly, conveys something of the attitude held by Niueans to birth marks.

In my village there are lots of stories about pregnant women. There are various kinds of fruit, meat, and fish which pregnant women are not supposed to eat. For example, an expectant mother is not allowed to eat food that has marks or spots on it, especially bananas with brown marks.

In Niue, January and February is the best time for fruit, fish, birds, and land crabs. They are all plentiful then.

In 1944, a woman in my village of Liku, named Liliani, found she was pregnant in those months. She was overcome with a desire to eat fish. Late one afternoon her uncle went out fishing. When he returned from the sea he brought some fish home. In his catch there was a special fish. It was a malau. This fish looked nice in colour, but even nicer when wrapped in banana leaves and grilled on an open fire.

Liliani craved a piece of that fish. Her uncle forbade her to eat it. He reminded her that, "Any other time it would be okay, but not at this time. Think about the child you are carrying." That was all very well, but she still had a strong desire to eat a piece of that fish. When it was cooked she disappeared with a piece of it, and the family didn't realise that she had taken part of the fish with her. On her return, her uncle again reminded her that she was forbidden to eat that fish.

When she delivered the baby, to everyone's surprise the newborn had a beautiful birth mark. Liliani knew straight away what she had done. The malau she had eaten had had a black spot on its tail. She knew why her baby had a spot on his left wrist.

I was that baby. The birth mark I have is unique and very special as it has brought my mother and I close together. As I grew up the birth mark stayed the same. A doctor on Niue examined it and said it was fine, since my birth mark wasn't growing any bigger. Over the years I have sometimes put a pencil mark around it to remind me of the love between my mother and me. For what she gave, this birth mark has cost me nothing.

I now live in Porirua. I'm proud of my birth mark and I show it to people whenever I tell them about my mother, whom I love very much.

Teachers could also look at Emma Kruse Va'ai's story "Earrings" (about ear piercing) in the *School Journal*, Part 3, Number 1, 1991, and Pasi Alatini's article "Tattoo — or Not?" in the *School Journal*, Part 4, Number 1, 1992. In the Longman Paul series, Focus on the Pacific, there are books about *The Haircutting Ceremony of the Cook Islands* and *The Ear Piercing Ceremony in Niue*.

Reviews

Two Decades of Bilingual Education in New Zealand: Developments from 1972-1991. A Selective Annotated Bibliography

by Virginia Earle. Reviewed by John McCaffery.

This slim publication is a welcome addition to a field of growing significance. The work was produced in partial fulfilment of the course requirements for the Victoria University of Wellington Diploma in Librarianship, and needs to be seen in this context. Mrs Earle has selected items and provided the annotations on the basis of sound librarianship. To the best of my knowledge, however, she is not actively involved in the field in a teaching or research capacity.

In many areas this would pose little difficulty. In bilingual education in Aotearoa/New Zealand at present it is somewhat of a disadvantage, which shows in the selections made for inclusion.

The introductory section is a useful, very brief overview of some of the key historical developments up to 1992. While the bibliography rightly concentrates on Maori/English bilingualism, the recent growth of Pacific Islands language groups and units and the recent interest of Pacific Islands states should really be recognised in such a publication. The interplay between tangata whenua and tauiwi and the way the Pakeha system often plays them off against each other is a real dilemma both Maori and Pacific Islands people constantly face. In Auckland certainly, Pacific bilingual education is on the move and set to flourish as language group children arrive at school.

The omission of any reference to the development of a national primary Maori language syllabus in the years 1980-1992 is disappointing, as this work helps create the climate and resources in schools for the bilingual developments which often follow.

It is pleasing to see kura kaupapa Maori included, as some people see the issue as being bilingual versus immersion, thereby placing single medium and dual medium instruction in totally different camps. In my view, both methodologies have important roles to play in achieving the overall goal of bilingualism, often for the same group of children at different stages in their education. Coverage of kura kaupapa Maori development is rather sparse, though, and there is much missing here that the serious student, school, or whanau wanting to find out more would need access to. As much of the information is unpublished, I accept it is a real problem for libraries.

The organisation of the bibliography into sections, one dealing with the international context and the other with New Zealand, is very helpful for finding one's way around the entries, which are arranged in chronological order from earliest to latest.

The international section covers books only so, unfortunately, some key articles, such as Jim Cummins' 1986 *Harvard Educational Review* article "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention", are not included. Among the fourteen book entries there are some important omissions. Of most significance is Cummins' *Empowering Minority Students* (California Association for Bilingual Education, Sacremento, 1989), which is rapidly becoming one of the most valuable texts on bilingual education. Also missing is Cummins's and Swain's *Bilingualism In Education* (Longman, 1986), and Skutnabb-Kangas's *Bilingualism or Not* (Multilingual Matters, 1981). Both merit inclusion in the next edition.

Another related area worthy of greater prominence is that of growing up bilingual, of being bilingual. In this area, material like Arnberg's *Raising Children Bilingually — The Preschool Years* (Multilingual Matters, 1987) is needed. This material helps parents and communities answer questions about the psychology and concept development issues that are so often raised, and are fraught with popular misconceptions.

Coverage in the New Zealand section includes periodicals and conference reports as well as books. Here, the annotations will be most helpful in guiding readers to their areas of greatest interest. The seventy-eight entries give adequate coverage in most areas, and the author is to be congratulated for attempting wide coverage. There are some omissions, however. Wally Hirsh's 1990 report for the Ministry of Education on the under-achievement of Maori children is missing, as are a number of Benton reports, kura kaupapa Maori material, and many conference papers. The paper-thesis-periodical-book cycle can take between five and ten years to complete, and cultural factors mean much material will never emerge in a commercially published format. It shows, too, the urgency of encouraging writing on bilingualism and bilingual education.

Historically, the inclusion of the Benton feasibility study for Pukekaraka (at Otaki) appears to have no greater claim than those on Omahu (at Hastings), which have been omitted. A safer course would have been to include all of Richard and Nina Benton's material, as they remain Aotearoa's foremost researchers and writers in the field.

Overall, this publication makes a useful contribution, and if used in conjunction with Nina Benton's 1989 bibliography (NZCER) and Roly Golding's 1991 *ESL and Bilingual Education* (Auckland College of Education) will assist students, teachers, communities, and researchers alike. Support from librarians is vital, as New Zealand teachers are attempting to implement bilingual programmes with the barest of resources, with little or no formal training or inservice support, and often with massive wider community opposition, misinformation, antagonism, and apathy. In such circumstances access to accurate information is essential.

Congratulations and thank you, Virginia Earle.

Nga mihi nui ki a koe mo tenei koha mo tatau katoa o Aotearoa nei. Kia ora ra.

John McCaffery is a lecturer in Bilingual Studies at Auckland College of Education.

Two Decades of Bilingual Education in New Zealand: Development from 1972 - 1991 was published as Occasional Paper in Bibliography and Librarianship No. 24 by the Department of Library and Information Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993. $7.50.

Our World: Poems by Young Pacific Poets
Edited by Cliff Benson and Gweneth Deverell.

Nuanua of Tokelau: A Collection of Poems by Young Writers from Tokelau

Reviewed by Olive Lawson.

The world, as seen through the eyes of Pacific Islands teenagers, is beautifully depicted in *Our World: Poems by Young Pacific Poets*. Most of the poems in this collection were written by students from many different Pacific secondary schools for a 1990 poetry competition, and a few more were added later. The poems are grouped into three sections: forms one and two, forms three and four, and forms five, six, and seven.

Some of the poems deal with themes universal to all people. Subjects from nature, such as trees, blossoms, roses, seeds, insects, and flowers are all sensitively portrayed. Other subjects which concern teenagers, such as peer pressure, alcohol, drugs, AIDS, and domestic violence are included.

Many poems give a particular Pacific view, although the themes may be familiar to teenagers throughout the world. For example, poems about pollution deal with nuclear testing and dumping in the Pacific. Drift net fishing, torrential rain, cyclones, and beautiful sunsets are all described with the special flavour of the Pacific.

The loss of one's culture is not unique to the peoples of the Pacific and this theme often presented itself, usually accompanied with overtones of sadness or loss. Words like, "Please teach me my culture," and,

"Nobody in the village
wants to learn
from someone like me
who knows nothing
about village life and customs,"

from fourteen- or fifteen-year-old students can be interpreted as cries from the heart. Robina Ramzan of Fiji traces the history of the Indian people in Fiji, concluding with the words, "We do belong here, although we came from India."

The overall quality of this little anthology is excellent. The editors are to be congratulated for the sensitive and wide-ranging selection. I recommend the purchase of this book to any teachers who are interested in reading or teaching poetry to their classes. Identifying with what one reads always heightens interest and pleasure, and I am sure many Pacific Islands students living in New Zealand will enjoy this book, as will their New Zealand counterparts. My only regret is that Niue Island is not represented, and Fiji is rather over-represented; but perhaps that was beyond the control of the editors.

Nuanua of Tokelau is the first collection of poems by young Tokelauan writers. It was put together as a result of a Tokelau Writers' Workshop held at the University of the South Pacific Extension Centre in Western Samoa in 1991. The introduction explains that "nuanua" simply means "rainbow", and in this context means a new dawn or beginning.

I am sorry that I cannot unreservedly recommend this volume to teachers of English as it is a historic first and deserves to be noticed and remembered as such. Unfortunately, there are too many small errors of tense and mistakes with plurals which cannot pass, even allowing for poetic licence, in the English classroom.

Themes of loneliness, death, childhood memories, and other personal outpourings lack maturity of thought and uniqueness of expression. The only male contributor of the nine poets, Eliu Faamaoni, has five poems published. Three of these are protests about Western culture being imposed on traditional Tokelauan ways, and strike a more meaningful chord. A poem about being "locked" in a classroom all day learning things such as physics and maths concludes with the line, "Why did you teach me all this in English?"

I also like the poems with a very Tokelauan flavour, such as: "Songs of My Homeland" by T. M. Pasilio, and "My Canoe", which concludes the book with a lovely string of Tokelauan similes.

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Our World: Poems by Young Pacific Poets was published by The Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1991. $3.50.

Nuanua of Tokelau: A Collection of Poems by Young Writers from Tokelau was published by the Office of Tokelau Affairs, Apia, 1992. $10.50.

Both books are available from the Wellington Multicultural Educational Resource Centre, Box 6566, Te Aro, Wellington.

The Environment of Tonga: A Geography Resource
by Wendy Crane. Reviewed by Lesieli Kupu MacIntyre.

The author writes with a deep knowledge of both Tongan geography and culture. The contributions of Taniela Vao (cultural adviser) and Henele Vaka (artist/illustrator) make this resource unique and exceptional. This team has brilliantly introduced a new approach to creating resources for Polynesian students and, in particular, for Tongan students — an approach for which a great need arose first in the 1970s but is needed even more so now. The cleverly put remarks of the kuka (crab) would maintain any Tongan student's interest throughout, in a humorous way, yet would remain a reminder of the need to be ecologically conscious.

Tongan legends begin and end the 165-page book, and demonstrate how myths and legends can be used to introduce new and scientific concepts in class — something to which not just Tongan students, but all Polynesian students can easily relate.

The content of this resource is rich and full. The components are clearly set out under headings and sub-headings (which are also in Tongan) that are easy to progress through. The book is illustrated with maps, drawings, graphs, diagrams, and photos. It would appeal equally to fast learners, because it is full of information, and to not-so-fast learners, because it is well illustrated. The drawings of coconut trees, banana plants, and Tongan fales are most relevant to a Tongan student's learning style. The activities would enable a Tongan student to learn skills both by researching, and by doing the hands-on experiments. Exercises which involve collecting items, weighing them, or crushing and soaking are not only popular, but are very suitable for most Pacific Islands students' learning styles. More important, though, are the research activities which require the students to ask their parents for their knowledge of myths and legends. This enables parents and students to share a knowledge which is unique to them and their culture, and, at the same time, allows parents to contribute to their children's education.

Each new chapter is introduced with a "kupesi" (tapa design). Different in name, pattern, and origin these may be, but each Tongan student can identify with at least one of the tapa designs.

The remarks of the kuka, which are in Tongan only throughout the text, provide the final touch to this valuable resource. A Tongan student who speaks Tongan fluently, but not much English, may learn a lot from the humorous parts in Tongan. As well, when asked for a translation, the student may feel important.

Overall, the big plus for this book is that while it helps students to learn about geography, science, and environmental issues, it also allows them the opportunity to see the value of their own culture. While this is happening they unconsciously learn the importance of conservation. This concurs with the fundamental Polynesian belief that people should be in harmony with themselves, their families, their environment, and nature.

This is a resource to which all Tongan students should have access. It is also valuable for students from other Pacific Islands, and will be of interest to all students and teachers studying the environmental issues or the geography of the Pacific.

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The Environment of Tonga: A Geography Resource was published in 1992 by Wendy Crane Books, and is available from the publisher at 53 Wilford St, Lower Hutt. $26.00 including post and packaging.

Corpus, Concordance, Collocation
by John Sinclair.

Patterns of Lexis in Text
by Michael Hoey.

Reviewed by Marilyn Lewis.

Two titles in a new Oxford series, "Describing English Language", will be of interest to readers wanting to know more about descriptive linguistics and the long-dreamed-of possibilities for text analysis offered by computer technology. What is the frequency of particular words used in, say, readers for young children? How are ideas linked in geography or economics textbooks written for secondary school students?

John Sinclair, of "Cobuild" dictionary fame, offers a "how-to-do-it" volume that demystifies the topic, making a tool for language teachers to analyse the texts their students are using. Readers are led through a number of decisions. Who should design a corpus? What are the practical problems of putting text into electronic form? The appendices illustrate some of these forms, showing how words are actually used in speech and writing, rather than how we imagine they are used. Information available through corpus studies has messages for writers of glossaries and writers of simplified or "authentic" texts for new readers of English. Because the information applies equally to mainstream teachers preparing handouts, the studies also offer fresh chances for co-operation through work in language across the curriculum.

Michael Hoey brings together a couple of

decades of work in his book, *Patterns of Lexis in Text*. Teachers will be encouraged to see that samples are well grounded in the language produced by students in different educational contexts, rather than in contrived sentences. Like Sinclair's work, this book goes beyond considerations of particular word meanings to the question of how ideas are connected in specific contexts. His final chapter, "Implications for reading and writing", refers to the purposes for reading in particular subject areas. It also offers readers a news text in Portuguese, on which they can try out some of his comments on how readers in a new language make sense out of a text. This activity alone could be a useful opening gambit for an in-service course.

Many books directed at teachers play down the knowledge base of the work, concentrating instead on techniques. The growing numbers of New Zealand teachers applying to do specialist courses in language teaching suggest that these two books will be welcome.

Marilyn Lewis is a senior lecturer for the Diploma of English Language Teaching at Auckland University.

Corpus, Concordance, Collocation
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991.
Patterns of Lexis in Text
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991.